SHANGHAI AND NANJING 1937

Massacre on the Yangtze

BENJAMIN LAI

ILLUSTRATED BY GIUSEPPE RAVA

CAMPAIGN 309

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Series editor Marcus Cowper

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ORIGINS OF THE CAMPAIGN

THE STRATEGIC SITUATION

For many Europeans, World War II began in 1939; for the Americans, it was 1941; but for the Chinese, the war began in 1937 with the advent of the Second Sino-Japanese War. This is the story of 'the first campaign of World War II'.

In 1937, Chiang Kaishek 蒋介石 was the leader of a divided China. Chiang was a military leader who took power after the death of Sun Yatsen 孙逸仙, the first president and founding father of the Republic of China (ROC). During this period, rebellion and disloyalty by regional warlords were common. From the mid-19th century onwards, China was constantly under attack. Defeated, she had to accept humiliating terms that encompassed a loss of territory, exclusive trading rights, indemnity payments, the imposition of extra-territorial rights as well as the presence of foreign garrisons in selected areas. Each of the foreign powers had their own 'turf', cultivating support from regional warlords using a divide-and-rule strategy to make their region less dependent upon central control. Rebellious warlords were not the only problem for Chiang: on top of this, the Chinese Communists, whom Chiang had been battling on or off for the previous decade, presented the biggest menace. Besides them, Chiang had to face an increasingly predatory Japan. The latter had been encroaching on Chinese territory since as far back as 1894, first by annexing Taiwan, the Penghu/Pescadores and Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands and then part of north-east China on conclusion of the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–95). Then, little by little, the rest of north-eastern China fell into Japanese hands. This grab for land was made 'legal and permanent' by incorporating the territory taken into a puppet state known as Manchukuo. Winston Churchill described China as an artichoke, being eaten one leaf at a time by Japan. Unable to defeat the Japanese, the Chinese could only buy time by accepting an imposed truce on humiliating terms.

If the Chinese were disunited, the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) was equally factionalized. Within the IJA there existed a highly politicized force populated with radicals, who advocated the murder of leading politicians and the violent overthrow of the government in order to adopt a more aggressive, expansionist foreign policy. These hawkish elements were part of the Kwantung Army (the IJA in Manchuria) and the Tianjin and Beijing garrisons, whose presence was imposed on China as part of the settlement following the 1900 Boxer Rebellion. The power and influence of the hawks

TOP
The Bund, the commercial heart of Shanghai, overlooking the Huangpu River, a tributary of the Yangtze.

BOTTOM
Suzhou Creek, which was more akin to a river. The tower on the right is the Post Office, which still stands. (Shanghai Library)

had been on the increase for many years beyond the control of Tokyo. By Machiavellian scheming, their leaders constantly sought opportunities to force Tokyo to adopt policies that would result in more aggressive action. For these belligerent generals, the solution to all problems was always war.

On 28 January 1932, the bellicose hawks saw their wishes granted through the instigation of an incident in Shanghai using agent provocateurs, when a group of Japanese monks was set upon and killed by a rent-a-mob. Badly handled by the Shanghai Municipal Council (SMC), the mob went on the rampage, engaging in looting and arson aimed largely at the Japanese community. Having the casus belli needed, the Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN) force prepositioned at the mouth of the Yangtze River soon landed with a mission to 'protect' Japanese lives and property. Understandably, the Chinese resisted and a battle resulted, which ended in a Chinese defeat. A ceasefire was brokered by the League of Nations that favoured the Japanese by having the Chinese army forced out of Shanghai and into the surrounding countryside while allowing the presence of a Japanese marine garrison in the city. To maintain law and order, the Chinese were allowed to keep a militia, known as the Peace Preservation Corps (PPC), equipped with only small arms. This arrangement was to have far-reaching repercussions, and sowed the seeds for the 1937 conflict.

In 1937, Shanghai (known as the 'Paris of the East') was the most cosmopolitan city in China, the nation's main commercial hub and largest port. Very much like today, Shanghai has a large foreign community; in fact much of Puxi 浦西 (the historic centre of Shanghai) was under foreign control, managed and controlled by the British and Americans under the body known as the Shanghai Municipal Council within an area known as the Shanghai International Settlement. The settlement provided a territorial home to 14 separate nations: Belgium, Brazil, Denmark, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the UK and the USA. Never happy to be under Anglo-Saxon control, the French decided to go it alone, and managed their own interests in a separate concession – the Shanghai French Concession – independently of the SMC. The SMC ran the settlement like a mini-state, with its own firefighters, postal services, police force as well as a militia, the Shanghai Volunteer Corps (SVC). Despite the protection offered by the SVC, additional troops were stationed within the Settlement, comprising British and Italian army troops, US Marines and Imperial Japanese Navy Landing Force (IJNLF) soldiers; in the French Concession, French Annamites (from the protectorate of Annam, a part of French Indochina) were stationed. These forces took orders from their respective consulates, and were not under the direction of the SMC.

On the evening of 7 July 1937, in the outskirts of Beijing around Marco Polo Bridge, the belligerent IJA generals saw an opportunity arise. On that fateful night, elements of the IJA were conducting manoeuvres just outside the area of the bridge, when around midnight they reported a 'soldier missing'. The Japanese commander immediately concluded that the Chinese must have kidnapped the 'missing' soldier (Private 2nd Class Shimura Kikujiro 志村菊次郎, who re-emerged sometime later, claiming to have lost his way to find a toilet, an emergency visit brought about by stomach ache). Gathering his forces, the commander demanded the right to enter the Chinese zone to conduct

The regimental badge of the Shanghai Volunteer Corps (SVC). In the centre are the 12 flags of the principal countries represented in the International Settlement. (Author's collection)

The French Concession represented France in miniature form – even the police wore French uniforms complete with the kepi. At the end of the battle of Shanghai, thousands of Chinese refugees slept in the streets, testing the city administration to the limits. (Shanghai Library)

a search. During the tense stand-off, the Chinese claimed that shots were fired at them, but the Japanese rebuked this claim, stating it was the Chinese who fired first; in hindsight, it was probably caused by accidental discharge of a weapon, while others claimed it was fire-crackers thrown by an agent provocateur. Immediately, the then Colonel Mutaguchi Renya 牟田口廉也, commander of the 1st Infantry Regiment, ordered preparations for a retaliatory attack on Chinese forces stationed nearby. Understandably, the Chinese took measures to defend themselves and this resulted in what was known as the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, the spark that ignited the Second Sino-Japanese War.

Building on their success in gaining the upper hand in the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, the IJA soon captured Beijing and the neighbouring port of Tianjin. This in turn led to a further expansion of the fighting with Operation *Charha*/the Nankou Campaign, which took place to the west and north-west of Beijing, and resulted in the capture of more territory by the Japanese. The IJA's success in China compounded the already intensive inter-service rivalry between the army and navy. The IJN hawks were looking for an excuse for war and the proximity of Shanghai to the sea and the Yangtze seaway gave the navy a perfect opportunity to demonstrate its power. On the night of 9 August 1937, the deaths of two Imperial Japanese Navy Special Landing Force (IJNSLF) sailors in Shanghai gave the admirals their perfect excuse to strike. Unknown to the Japanese, Chiang was planning to put up a stubborn fight. Knowing that he could not take on the Japanese alone, Chiang had concluded that only by 'internationalizing' the conflict could he have any hope of saving China, so the die was cast to embroil the international community in this war.

CHRONOLOGY

1931

18 September The Mukden Incident unfolds, provoked by hawkish elements within the Kwantung Army who sought to capture all of Manchuria.

1932

28 January Agents provocateurs initiate an incident in Shanghai that leads to the deaths of a number of Japanese monks. This gives the casus belli for military action and the eventual occupation of Shanghai by the IJNSLF.

18 February Manchukuo, a Japanese puppet state, is proclaimed.

1933

27 March Japan leaves the League of Nations.

January–May Operation *Nekka*, also known as the Defence of the Great Wall, launched by the IJA. The IJA captures the province of Rehe and annexes it to the new state of Manchukuo.

1936

12 May A pro-Japanese regime is set up in Mongolia, the Mongol United Autonomous Government.

25 November Creation of the pro-Japanese East Hebei Autonomous Council (1935–38).

1937

7 July The Marco Polo Bridge Incident sparks the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War, leading to an all-out invasion of China by Japan.

9–17 July Chiang Kaishek convenes an emergency conference with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and decides to start a second front in Shanghai.

25–31 July Beijing and Tianjin fall. The Republic of China Navy (ROCN) blockades the Yangtze River with sunken ships and mines. A Chinese Martin B-10 bomber is shot down by IJN fighters.

9 August The death of Lieutenant Ohyama Isao 大山勇夫 of the IJNSLF and his driver Seaman 1st Class Saito Yozo 斎藤与蔵 on the approach road to Hongqiao Aerodrome 虹桥机场. This gives the Japanese the casus belli to intervene militarily.

13 August Chiang Kaishek opens a second front in Shanghai.

14 August The Chinese launch an air attack on Japanese ships on the Huangpu River 黄浦江. The Japanese retaliate with reciprocal bombing of Chinese air bases.

21 August The signing of the Sino-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact in Nanjing 南京 allows the Soviet Union to provide much-needed military aid to China. Stalin uses China to fight a proxy war against Japan.

23 August Landings take place by the IJA on the north-east coat of Shanghai. Japanese planes begin indiscriminate bombing of Chinese cities including the then capital Nanjing. Fierce fighting takes place to the north of Shanghai, centred on Baoshan town 宝山镇.

5 September The IJN blockades much of the eastern and southern Chinese coastline.

8 September After reinforcements have arrived, the IJA goes on the offensive.

11 September Baoshan falls to the Japanese and the fighting moves west to Luodian 罗店, northern Shanghai.

19–20 September Major air battles take place over Nanjing.

1 October The fighting moves to Dachang town 大场镇, in northern Shanghai.

14 October The Chinese counter-offensive fails.

26–28 October Fighting breaks out along Suzhou Creek 苏州河, and the battle of the Joint Trust/Sihang 四行仓库 Warehouse begins.

30 October China moves its capital to Chongqing 重庆 in the south-west of the country.

TOP
A Chinese soldier of the XXIX Corps stands guard at Marco Polo Bridge. Note the British-style helmet and the huge 'Chinese Scimitar' on his backpack.

BOTTOM
Looking across the ancient Marco Polo Bridge towards Wanping 宛平 City Gate. (Author's collection)

1 November Chinese troops withdraw from the Joint Trust Warehouse.

5–8 November IJA landings take place in Hangzhou Bay 杭州湾; Chiang orders a general withdrawal from Shanghai.

19 November The breaching of the Wufu Line 吴福线.

1 December The IJA launches its attack on Nanjing's outer defences.

9 December The IJA reaches the Fukuo Line 复廓阵地, the last line of defence in Nanjing.

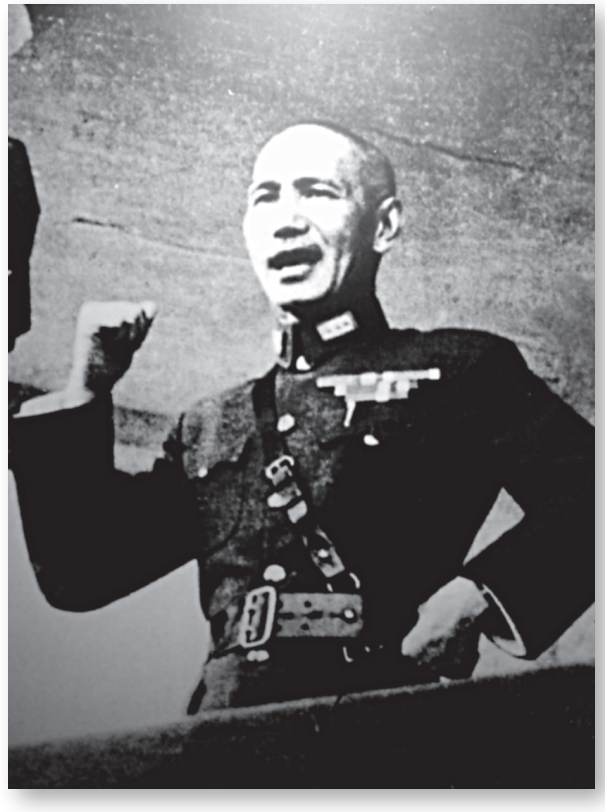
10 December Prince Asaka Yasuhiko 朝香宫鸠彦王 orders an all-out attack on Nanjing.

12 December Chiang Kaishek decides to abandon Nanjing; the Japanese mopping-up operation results in massacres and killings that continue well into February 1938.

OPPOSING COMMANDERS

CHINESE

Chiang Kaishek 蒋介石 (1887–1975) was a political and military strongman who served as the leader of the Kuomintang (KMT – China's Nationalist Party) from 1926 to 1975. A close ally of Sun Yatsen, the founding father of the ROC, Chiang rose to fame during the Northern Expedition. However, whereas Sun Yatsen was well liked and respected by the CCP, Chiang was not, causing a major split between the Nationalists and Communists that would eventually develop into civil war. For this, Chiang was accused by his critics of being more willing to pursue a war against his fellow Chinese than fighting foreign invaders. When Japan invaded China in 1937, reluctantly Chiang agreed to an uneasy truce with the CCP, but after the Japanese capitulation, the CCP and KMT fought each other in an all-out civil war that resulted in the defeat of the KMT and Chiang's escape to Taiwan. Chiang was never able to return to mainland China, and he died in Taiwan in 1975.



Chiang Kaishek, giving his famous speech at Mount Lu, the summer capital, in which he announced China would make a stand against Japan and called for full mobilization. (Author's collection)

Feng Yuxiang 冯玉祥 (1882–1948), a former vice premier, served as the Vice President of the National Military Council and was also the Commander of the Third then Sixth War Zone. He was known as the 'Christian general' for his antics in using a fire hose to conduct mass baptisms. Feng was both a supporter and critic of Chiang, chastising him for his half-hearted attitude in resisting the Japanese.

Tang Shengzhi 唐生智 (1889–1970) was a Chinese warlord, fighting for whoever gave him the best advantage. He graduated from Baoding Military Academy for officers in 1914 majoring in infantry warfare, and was initially a key leader under Chiang Kaishek until 1935, when he openly began supporting the CCP. Tang was sidelined until 1937, when Chiang begged him to take up the job of defending Nanjing, a thankless task in which Tang had no hope of

RIGHT
Feng Yuxiang, the 'Christian general' who never really trusted Chiang.

FAR RIGHT
Bai Chongxi, who advocated setting up stay-behind guerrilla forces to harass the Japanese after the fall of Nanjing. (Author's collection)

success. After the fall of Nanjing, Tang became a recluse and devoted his life to Buddhism. He remained in mainland China after 1949 and served in various posts both military and civil until his death in 1970.

Zhang Zhizhong 张治中 (1890–1969) was a general (2nd class), and commanded the 9th Army Group during the battle of Shanghai, until relieved of command. His poor health prior to the battle may have contributed to his dismal performance. A graduate of the Baoding Military Academy in 1916, majoring in infantry warfare, he served first in warlord armies before heeding the call of Nationalist leader Sun Yatsen and becoming an instructor at the Whampoa Military Academy. After the Northern Expedition (Chiang's 1926–28 KMT military campaign which sought to unify China), Zhang became the commandant of the Central Military Academy and led the V Corps in the 1932 Shanghai Incident between China and Japan. He remained in mainland China when Chiang fled to Taiwan in 1949.

Tang Shengzhi managed to escape from Nanjing on the night of 12 December 1937 in his private boat, while his troops remained trapped in the city. (Author's collection)

Zhang Fakui 张发奎 (1896–1980) commanded the 8th Army Group during the 1937 campaign and later the 2nd Front Army. In 1945, he marched into Hong Kong to accept the surrender of the Japanese troops, and for this he was awarded a CBE by Governor Sir Mark Young in 1947. In 1949 he moved to Hong Kong, where he lived until his death in 1980.

Chen Cheng 陈诚 (1897–1965) graduated from Baoding Military Academy in 1922, and later served as Commandant of the Whampoa Military Academy. Following the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, Chen called for decisive action through opening a second front in Shanghai rather than confronting the Japanese in northern China. After moving to Taiwan at the end of the Civil War, he served as the Governor of Taiwan Province, Vice President and Premier.

Liu Jianxu 刘建绪 (1892–1978) graduated from Baoding Military Academy in 1915 majoring in artillery warfare. During the battle of Shanghai, he was the commander of the

FAR LEFT
Wang Jingjiu was given 500,000 Yuan to set up an urban guerrilla force before the war.

CENTRE
Zhang Zhizhong was sacked after failing to deliver the knockout blow, even with a 10:1 superiority in numbers.

LEFT
Admiral Chen Shaokuan in full dress. (Author's collection)

10th Army Group and was later promoted to head the Third War Zone. He was embroiled in an embezzlement scandal, raiding army funds to set up the Fuxing Bank, of which he appointed himself chairman. In 1949, he moved to Hong Kong and in 1951, having hastily sold the bank, left for Brazil, where he died in 1978.

Wang Jingjiu 王敬久 (1902–68) was a lieutenant-general in the Chinese army who graduated from the first intake at Whampoa Military Academy. Wang fought in the 1932 Shanghai Incident and later became the deputy commander of the Nanjing Garrison. He became famous when appointed to command the elite 'Germanized' 87th Division.

Xie Jinyuan 谢晉元 (1905–41) was the commanding officer of the 524th Regiment, 88th Division. He became a national hero for his role in the siege of the Joint Trust Warehouse in 1937. A graduate of the Whampoa Military Academy majoring in politics, Xie served as a battalion commander in the 88th Division and also fought in the 1932 Shanghai Incident. On the morning of 24 April 1941, Xie was assassinated by Sergeant Hao Dingcheng 郝鼎诚

FAR LEFT
Xie Jinyuan became a national hero, whose death was mourned by over 100,000 Shanghainese.

LEFT
Zhang Fakui later gave support to Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnamese revolutionary. (Author's collection)

In 1945, Alexander von Falkenhausen was indicted for war crimes. Chiang did everything he could to help, even dispatching the Chinese ambassador, and gave him US $3,000 to help with daily necessities. (Getty Images 92925126)

and three other soldiers after they took bribes from the Japanese to kill their commander. More than 100,000 people turned up for his funeral and Xie was posthumously promoted to major-general.

Bai Chongxi 白崇禧 (1893–1966) was a Muslim warlord from Guangxi in south-west China, who later served as defence minister from 1946 to 1948. During the battles of Shanghai and Nanjing in 1937, he served only as an 'advisor' to Chiang, but his strong opinions 'watered down the responsibilities of the actual Chief of Staff … conducting endless debates and fruitless councils', according to one of the German advisors. Bai left for Taiwan in 1949 and ended his days there.

Chen Shaokuan 陈绍宽 (1899–1969) was a Grade 1 Admiral in the ROCN. Chen was an Anglophile and a frequent visitor to Britain, and also served as Military Attaché in London. He attended the coronation of King George VI on 12 May 1937, and whilst in Germany was called back to lead the ROCN against the Japanese, which included launching the attack on HIJMS *Idzumo* 出雲, blocking the Yangtze and Huangpu rivers as well as the defence of Jiangyin 江阴. After refusing to fight in the Civil War, he was sacked and he ended his days in mainland China.

Alexander von Falkenhausen (1878–1966) was a military advisor to Chiang Kaishek. Von Falkenhausen was part of the Deutsche Beraterschaft, an organization of military advisors supporting training and reform of the Chinese army. The commercial side to this military aid was handled by HARPO (Handelsgesellschaft zur Verwertung industrieller Produkte), selling anything from uniform buttons to weapons. Von Falkenhausen was an expert on both China and Japan, having fought in the Boxer Rebellion and served as military attaché in Tokyo. After China, he served as governor to occupied Belgium but was implicated in plotting against Hitler, and languished in various concentration camps until the German capitulation. Post-World War II, von Falkenhausen was found guilty of deporting Jews, but was saved from execution by testaments from Belgian Jews as well as his friend Tsien Siou-Ling de Perlinghi 钱秀玲, a Chinese-Belgian who saved the lives of nearly 100 Belgian Jews during the war. Von Falkenhausen served only three years of his 12-year sentence, was released in 1955 and was pardoned by the German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer.

JAPANESE

Matsui Iwane 松井石根 (1878–1948) was a general and commander of the 1937 Shanghai Expeditionary Force (SEF). He had retired from the army in 1935 but was called back into service in 1937. After Shanghai, it was Matsui who lobbied for the high command to advance on Nanjing. He was bed-ridden during the final stage of the battle and handed command to

Matsui Iwane endeavoured to rein in the excesses of his army, but his edict was ignored and he was forced aside. Whether he was a weak leader, or committed to his principles, remains a matter of debate. (Nanjing Massacre Museum)

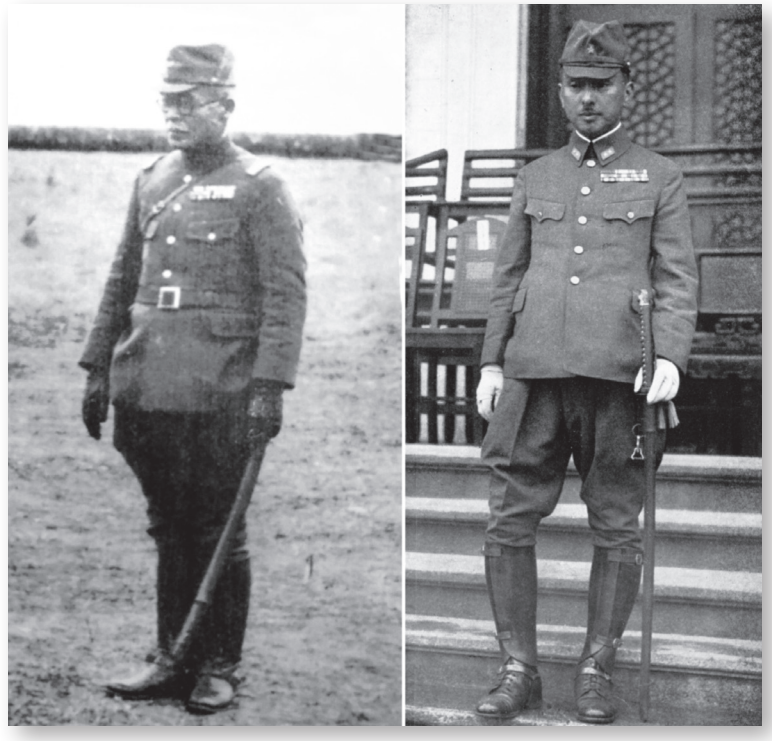
Prince Asaka Yasuhiko (see below). He retired again in 1938. Matsui was later convicted as a Class A war criminal by the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal, and was executed by the Allies for his involvement in the Nanjing Massacre. However, in death he again stirred controversy when a large number of convicted war criminals were enshrined as martyrs in the Yasukuni Shrine in Japan in 1978.

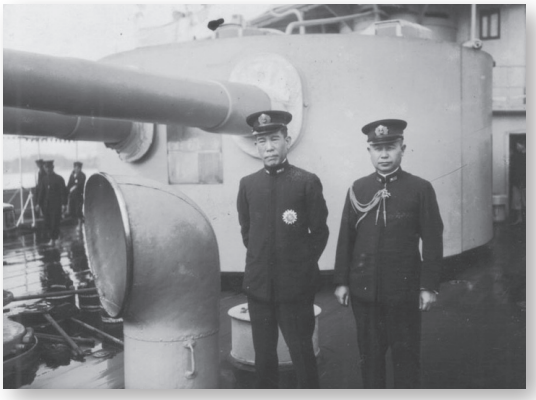
Yanagawa Heisuke 柳川平助 (1879–1945) saw service in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05, participated in the Versailles negotiations in 1919, and was a member of Japan's delegation to the League of Nations. Although he retired in 1936, he was recalled to command the X Corps. His landing in Hangzhou Bay led to the collapse of the Chinese army. Although Yanagawa died of a heart attack in January 1945, he was still convicted as a Class B war criminal by the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal.

Prince Asaka Yasuhiko 朝香宮鳩彦王 (1887–1981) was the son-in-law of Emperor Meiji and uncle by marriage to Emperor Hirohito. In November 1937, Asaka became temporary commander of the Central China Army (CCA) because of Matsui's

BELOW LEFT
Lieutenant-General Yanagawa Heisuke died of a heart attack in January 1945, but was still convicted as a war criminal post-mortem.

BELOW RIGHT
Lieutenant-General Prince Asaka Yasuhiko gave the specific order to initiate the massacres in Nanjing, but escaped punishment as a war criminal due to a special dispensation granted by General Douglas MacArthur. (Songhu Campaign Museum)





Rear-Admiral Hasegawa Kiyoshi (left) served as the Military Attaché in Washington. In 1926–27 he was the Captain of HIJMS *Nagato*. (Songhu Campaign Museum)

illness. He issued the infamous order to 'dispose of' all captives, thus providing official sanction for what became known as the Nanjing Massacre. In early 1938, both Prince Asaka and Matsui were recalled to Japan. Promoted to full general, Prince Asaka remained on the Supreme War Council until the end of the war. Because of his royal status, he was never charged with war crimes. Stripped of this status in October 1947, he turned to golf and later converted to Catholicism.

Hasegawa Kiyoshi 長谷川清 (1883–1970) was a rear admiral in the IJN and 18th Governor of Taiwan. Hasegawa landed in Shanghai on HIJMS *Idzumo* and subsequently headed the Third Fleet and later China Area Fleet (CAF). The USS *Panay* and HMS *Ladybird* Incident took place during his tenure of command. Although Hasegawa was charged with war crimes, he was later acquitted. Following his release, he became an advisor that oversaw the formation of the Japan Maritime Self-Defence Force.

Tani Hisao 谷壽夫 (1882–1947) served as military attaché in London from 1915 to 1918 and went to the Western Front as an official observer. He later rose to command the 6th Division. Convicted as a Class B war criminal, Tani was executed in China for the atrocities committed in Nanjing. During the trial, he tried to deflect the charge by blaming the atrocities on the Koreans in the IJA.

Other senior Japanese generals like **Yoshizumi Ryosuke** 吉住良輔 (1884–1963) of the 9th Division, **Ogisu Ryuhei** 荻洲立兵 (1884–1949) of the 13th Division, **Fujita Susumu** 藤田進 (1884–1959) of the 3rd Division, **Suematsu Shigeharu** 末松茂治 (1882–1960) of the 114th Division, **Ito Masaki** 伊東 政喜 (1881–1959) of the 101st Division, **Yamada Senji** 山田梅二 (*c*.1884–?) of the 103rd Brigade, among others, all managed to escape war-crime trials.

Lieutenant-General Tani Hisao (left) in conference outside Nanjing's China Gate with Lieutenant-General Suematsu Shigeharu of the 114th Division. (Songhu Campaign Museum)

OPPOSING FORCES

CHINESE

Land forces

In 1937, there was no such thing as the National Chinese Army; instead, there was a collection of armies with different loyalties. That year, the American journal *Amerasia* stated that there were approximately 2 million soldiers, organized into 191 divisions (182 infantry, 9 cavalry) and 56 independent brigades (46 independent infantry, 9 cavalry, 4 artillery). Most were light infantry with few vehicles, guns and especially armour. In 1935, the best-equipped and most-loyal formations possessed only 457 artillery pieces (not including mortars; some alternative sources indicate 567 pieces), compared to the theoretical complement of 54 guns per 'Germanized' division (see below). Rebellion and disloyalty by regional commanders were common, making Chiang Kaishek highly suspicious and calculating when deploying the army. The best-equipped and most loyal were some 380,000 Category 1 soldiers trained by the Germans and provided with the latest German weapons and equipment; these 'Germanized' units can be grouped into two cohorts: (1) fully 'Germanized' divisions (including the 2nd, 11th, 14th, 25th, 36th, 57th, 67th and 87th) and the Demonstration Corps (*Lehr*/Training); and (2) units that were only partially 'Germanized' when the war broke out (the 3rd, 4th, 6th, 9th, 10th, 27th, 80th, 83rd, 88th and 89th divisions). In addition, there were 550,000 troops classified as Category 2 and 3, whose reliability was questionable.

The military cooperation between Germany and China grew out of the necessities of both sides in the 1920s and 1930s: Weimar Germany (1919–33) was poor and needed money, while China was continuously at war and needed weapons. This reciprocal relationship continued and even expanded despite the post-1933 rise of Nazism as Hitler saw Chiang as a potential ally in the fight against communism. The money from China came in handy too; China traded with Germany and exchanged agricultural produce and minerals (to make hardened steel for weapons), machine tools and expert advise. With the help of the Germans, Chiang planned to form and equip 60 'Germanized' divisions, but by July 1937 his plan was falling way behind schedule, money being a

Chiang's elite 'Germanized' army. Led by a Mercedes-Benz 320 WK vehicle, and wearing German-style uniforms and helmets, this is most likely the motorized Demonstration Division. (Sihang Museum)

key problem. One example is provided by the 15cm sFH 18/32L *Immergrün*; the planned requirement was for 240 pieces, but by the start of war in 1937, only one lot of 24 had been purchased. The elite 87th Division, intended as the best-equipped of the 'Germanized' units at the beginning of war, was short of a battalion of artillery, four companies of infantry artillery and one anti-aircraft (AA) battalion. By July 1937, only 300,000 of Chiang's best troops were German-trained and equipped, equating to about 30 divisions.

While the Japanese basic tactical formation was the division, for the Chinese it was the corps. The Chinese corps only had between 10,923 and 15,000 soldiers, compared with 24,400–28,200 troops in a Japanese division. One reason for the smaller size of the Chinese formation was the lack of support units. A regular IJA infantry division was usually organized into two brigades, each of two infantry regiments, and when augmented with support troops such as cavalry, artillery, engineers and the like, this amounted to eight regiments. The Chinese army was similarly organized, but what set it apart from the IJA was the number of support troops; while the IJA was measured in regiments, the Chinese (if they had any at all) were measured in battalions. The IJA division also had 6,000–7,000 horses, 200 vehicles and even specialist troops such as poison-gas teams. The Chinese had almost none of these.

In particular, the Chinese were critically deficient in artillery. An IJA division had 48 field guns, the average Chinese division had 16; in heavy artillery, the IJA had 56 weapons while the Chinese had 30. The deficiency in numbers was compounded by issues of poor quality. For example, during the battle of Shanghai in 1937, the Guangxi 'Gui' 21st Army Group had artillery with a range of 1,000 yards, while the range of the Japanese weapons was 8,000 yards. Domestic-made artillery guns, often

The appearance of the regional Chinese troops was completely different to that of the Central Government's 'Germanized' army. Their mix of equipment is demonstrated here by the British Brodie helmet and the French Hotchkiss M1914 machine gun. Their fighting qualities could also be described, at best, as mixed. (Sihang Museum)

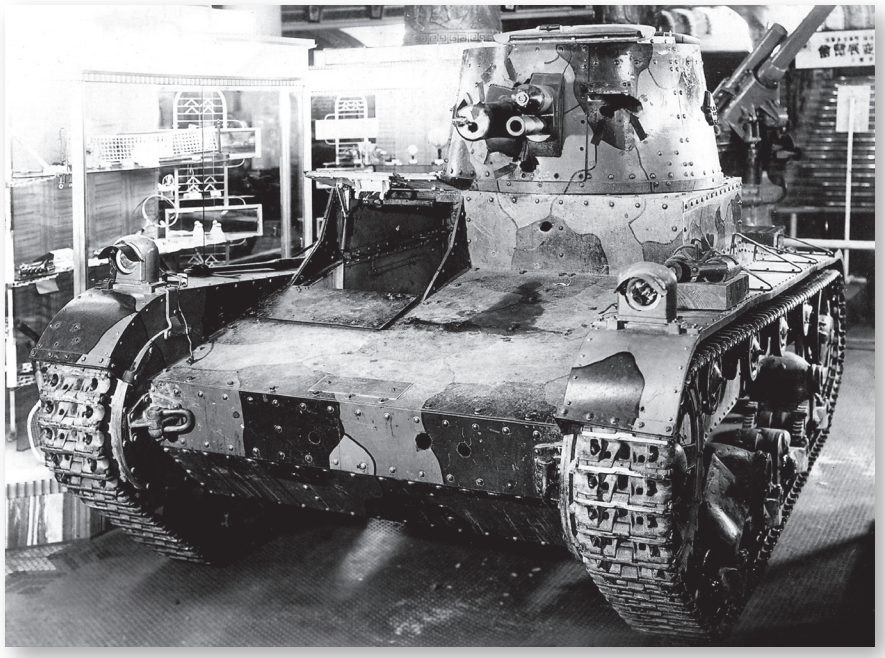
Chinese Vickers-Carden-Loyd light amphibious tanks. The Chinese character on the turrets reads 'Dragon', indicating these tanks belong to Dragon (No. 2) Company, 1st Tank Battalion. (Author's collection)

copies of Western guns, were inferior due to the poor quality of steel; gun barrels became red hot after firing several rounds and the weapons were at risk of exploding. The quality of Chinese troops was also inferior; many soldiers were illiterate, and while their officers were educated, the quality of the military training and education they received was poor; moreover, the command system was primitive, to say the least. By 1937, only 2,000 commanders and staff officers had received training; most commanders had to do their own staff work, and what constituted their staffs comprised glorified secretaries merely pushing paper.

In 1937, China had a small armoured force organized into three battalions; these were supported by one armoured recce battalion, one AT battalion, one AA battalion, one crew replenishment battalion, one infantry battalion and supporting signals and logistics units. The 1st Armoured Battalion that fought in Shanghai had 16 Vickers Mk E Type B 6-ton tanks and 16 Vickers-Carden-Loyd light amphibious tanks. The 2nd Armoured Battalion, which also fought in Shanghai, had 20 Vickers 6-ton tanks and four Vickers-Carden-Loyd Mk VIb tankettes. The 3rd Armoured Battalion had 17 German PzKpfw I Ausf. A tanks, 20 Italian Carro Veloce L3/35 tankettes. The armoured recce battalion had 72 German Zündapp motorcycles with sidecar and 12 German SdKfz 221, six SdKfz 222 and four SdKfz 223 armoured cars. In addition, there was a sole anti-tank battalion and a *Lehr* teaching battalion (also known as the Demonstration Corps) at the Central Military Academy, giving a total of 78 AT guns.

Air forces

On paper, the Chinese had *c.*600 aircraft, but this number was deceptive. Of these, 268 were combat aircraft, but only 91 of these were considered modern planes. There was no local aircraft industry to speak of, so combat losses were not easily replaced. Furthermore, purchases were made without



A captured Chinese Vickers 6-ton tank on display in a special exhibition in Matsuzakaya Department Store in Ginza, Tokyo, in October 1937. Note the damage to the turret and body. (Author's collection)

any form of coordination, so that there were too many varieties of aircraft, making logistics a nightmare. The 4th and 5th Fighter groups, for example, were equipped with US-made Curtiss Hawks but of two marks, II and III; the 3rd Squadron had three varieties of planes, the Curtiss Hawk II, Boeing P-26/281 and Fiat CR.32. Compounding this were two sets of military doctrines, one American and one Italian, adding to the confusion.

Naval forces

The ROCN, like the Chinese land forces, was divided, small and weak. It could only muster a fleet consisting mainly of frigates and gunboats with fewer than 70,000 tons in total, while the IJN had a surface fleet of 1,160,000 tons, not to mention its planes and submarines. Overall, the ROCN contribution to the campaign was minor, but it did mount torpedo attacks (which failed to sink any major ships) and organized blockships and the mining of sea-lanes (although the IJN still managed to evade the blockages and continued to use the waterways). The only tangible ROCN success came in the form of its naval AA guns, which did manage to shoot down several Japanese planes.

JAPANESE

Land forces

By 1937, the IJA was 247,000 strong, organized into 17 regular infantry divisions, four armoured regiments and 15 air regiments (five of which belonged to the Kwantung Army, amounting to 520 aircraft), split across garrisons in Japan and China. The majority of IJA infantry divisions in 1937 were 'square' formations, of 12,000 (peacetime) soldiers divided into two brigades supported by engineers, artillery, medical and transport troops. On mobilization, each infantry battalion gained an additional company (adding 12 companies to a division) bringing it to a strength of 25,000 men.

A wartime rifle company comprised 194 officers and men (139 in a machine-gun company) and an assault-gun platoon comprising 56 officers and men. Each rifle platoon had one light machine gun (LMG) and 11 riflemen per squad, except the fourth squad, which had nine riflemen (this squad was equipped with three potent grenade launchers). The machine-gun company consisted of four platoons manning eight Type 3 or Type 92 heavy machine guns (HMGs). The assault-gun platoon had two powerful Type 41 mountain guns, which could provide indirect fire support to the front, a luxury the Chinese never had. However, the increase in size also meant a greater logistical burden and the increase in fighting ability was not matched by a proportional increase in service troops, such that the IJN was essentially forced to 'live off the land', which amounted to nothing less than looting. This inevitably created bad feeling between civilians and the army, fueling insurgent sentiments and activities. As the war expanded, this forced the Japanese to commit more and more troops to occupation and pacification duties, sucking in more and more resources, something the Japanese did not have.

An IJNSLF bugler in his 1933 green summer uniform with a naval Type 2 helmet. He is armed with an M-18 Bergmann submachine gun. The white pouch hanging from his belt is for signal flags. (Sihang Museum)

Naval and air forces

In 1937, the Japanese already had a small naval garrison force in Shanghai as a result of the 1932 Shanghai Incident. Normally the garrison was 2,500-strong, but in an emergency the force could be boosted by an additional six battalions making a total of 6,300 men. Based in Shanghai was the Third Fleet. Its primary fighting force comprised the 10th Battle and 11th Gunboat Division supported by a host of minor vessels. Sensing hostilities even before the first shot was fired, the IJN dispatched additional IJNLF troops to Shanghai and 72 aircraft from the three aircraft carriers *Kaga* 加賀, *Hosho* 鳳翔and *Ryujo* 龍嚷, giving the Japanese tactical air superiority over the battle zone by early autumn 1937. On top of this, the IJN had 36 land-based bombers from Taiwan in support.

The IJNSLF was a formidable combined-arms force containing its own armour and artillery. This picture, taken in the early stages of the battle, shows an LMG motorcycle with sidecar, a Type 98B tank, followed by a Vickers-Crossley M25 armoured car of the Eastern Force. (Sihang Museum)

Orders of Battle

CHINESE FORCES

Prior to the 1937 battles, the Chinese 36th (Germanized), 55th, 56th, 57th (restructured), 87th (restructured) and 88th (restructured) divisions and the 20th Independent Brigade were stationed just west of Shanghai. Within Shanghai was a regimental-sized militia, the PPC. In Nanjing there was a garrison, with 50,000 troops. The ROCN had two fleets in the area: the First Fleet (two *Ninghai* 甯海-class light cruisers: ROCNS *Ninghai*甯海 and ROCNS *Pinghai* 平海; the light cruiser *Yatsen* 逸仙; and the pre-World War I, British-built training cruiser *Jingswei* 应瑞, which was sunk on 23 October 1937 near Nanjing) and the Second Fleet (featuring the World War I-era German-built gunboat ROCNS *Jiankang* 健康, which was sunk on 18 December 1937 in the Yangtze, and the Japanese-built, pre- World War I, shallow-draught gunboat *Chuyu* 楚豫, scuttled in Qingdao on 18 December 1937). In support was a torpedo-boat squadron of eight 55ft Thornycroft coastal motor boats (CMBs). The Republic of China Air Force (ROCAF) provided the 2nd Bomber Group, and 4th and 5th Fighter groups; instructors and cadets from the Central Aviation Academy formed the provisional 32nd, 35th Bomber and the 34th Fighter squadrons.

Note: units marked * were deployed in Shanghai on 13 August.

Artillery units marked † were equipped with the German sFH 18L/32 150mm howitzer.

Commanders marked ** held two or more commands contemporaneously.

LAND FORCES, SHANGHAI FRONT, 13–23 AUGUST 1937

Third War Zone (Feng Yuxiang; replaced by Chiang Kaishek, 20 August 1937)

Wusong/Shanghai siege sector

9th Army Group* (Lieutenant-General Zhang Zhizhong)
- 56th Division* (XXXIX Corps)
- 36th (Germanized) Division
- 61st Division
- 87th (Germanized) Division
- 88th (Germanized) Division
- 98th Division*
- 20th Independent Brigade*
- Wusong–Shanghai Garrison Command*
  - PPC*
  - Police Command*
- Demonstration Corps (DC – Germanized, along the Lehr concept) Lieutenant-General Gui Yongqing 桂永清
- 10th Heavy Artillery Regiment †
- 3rd Artillery Regiment*
- 8th Artillery Regiment*
- Two Heavy Mortar batteries*
- Two Anti-Tank batteries*
- 1st Tank Battalion (Vickers Mk E and Vickers-Carden-Loyd amphibious tanks)

Suzhou Creek right bank sector

LIV Corps
- 11th Division (restructured)
- 14th (Germanized) Division
- 67th Division (restructured)
- 16th Artillery Regiment

Suzhou Creek left bank sector

LVII Corps
- 111th Division
- 112th Division

Hangzhou Bay left bank sector

8th Army Group
- 45th Division
- 55th Division
- 57th Division (restructured)
- 61st Division
- 62nd Division
- 2nd Artillery Regiment

East Zhejiang sector
- 16th Division
- 19th Division
- 34th Division
- 52nd Division
- 63rd Division
- 37th Independent Brigade
- 11th Provisional Brigade
- 12th Provisional Brigade
- 13th Provisional Brigade

LAND FORCES, SHANGHAI FRONT, LATE SEPTEMBER 1937

Right Wing sector (General Zhang Fakui)**

XLIX Corps (Lieutenant-General Liu Duoquan 刘多荃)
- 105th Division
- 109th Division

8th Army Group (Zhang Fakui**)
- XXVIII Corps (Lieutenant-General Tao Guang 陶广**)
  - 62nd Division*
  - 63rd Division
- 55th Division
- 45th Independent Brigade
- DC Artillery Battalion
- 2nd Artillery Brigade

10th Army Group (Liu Jianxu)
- 45th Division
- 52nd Division
- 128th Division
- 37th Independent Brigade
- 11th Reserve Divison
- 34th (New) Brigade
- Temporary formations: 11th, 12th and 13th brigades
- Ningbo Garrison
- Special Operations Group

Central Sector (General [Second Class] Zhu Shaoliang 朱绍良)**

9th Army Group (Zhu Shaoliang**)
- VIII Corps (Lieutenant-General Huang Jie 黄杰**)
  - 61st Division
  - Salt Gabelle (Germanized) Division*[1]

Elite Chinese troops of the 88th Division being presented with gifts from the public. On the right sleeve of the soldiers is a printed badge with '88D' denoting the 88th Division. Note the German M24 *Stielhandgranate* stick grenades. (Sihang Museum)

1 Also known as the Tax Police Division. It was part of the Ministry of Finance, formed as a means of tracking down tax dodgers; the salt gabelle (tax on salt) was a major source of revenue for the ROC.

LXXI Corps (Wang Jingjiu**)
87th Division (Germanized)*
LXXII Corps (Lieutenant-General Sun Yuanliang 孙元良**)
88th Division (Germanized)*
PPC (less 2nd Regiment)
1st Regiment, 20th Independent Brigade
LXXVIII Corps (Lieutenant-General Song Xilian 宋希濂**)
36th Division (Germanized)*
3rd (Germanized) Division
18th Division
Wusong–Shanghai Garrison Command
1st Battalion, 3rd Regiment, 2nd Artillery Brigade
Two Heavy Mortar batteries
Two Anti-Tank batteries
One Light Tank Battalion
21st Army Group (Lieutenant-General Liao Lei 廖磊)
I Corps (Lieutenant-General Li Tiejun 李铁军)
1st Division
32d Division
78th Division
XLVIII Corps (Major-General Wei Yunsong 韦雲松)
173rd Division
174th Division
176th Division
16th Division
19th Division
171st Division
Left Wing sector (General Chen Cheng)
19th Army Group (General Xue Yue 薛岳)
II Corps (Lieutenant-General Li-Yannian 李延年**)
9th Division (Germanized)*
IV Corps (Lieutenant-General Wu Qiwei 吴奇伟)
59th Division
90th Division
XX Corps (Lieutenant-General Yang Sen 杨森)
133rd Division
134th Division
XXV Corps (Lieutenant-General Wan Yaohuang 万耀煌**)
13th Division*
LXVI Corps (Lieutenant-General Ye Zhao 叶肇**)
159th Division
160th Division*
DC Brigade
LXIX Corps (Lieutenant-General Ruan Zhaochang 阮肇昌**)
57th Division (restructured)*
LXXV Corps (Lieutenant-General Zhao Yan 周碞**)
34th Independent Brigade
6th Division (Germanized)*
15th Army Group (Lieutenant-General Luo Zhuoying 罗卓英**)
XVIII Corps (Luo Zhuoying**)
8th Division
11th Division (restructured)
16th Division
67th Division (restructured)
77th Division
4th Regiment, Suzhou Security
16th Artillery Regiment
AA guns, 2nd Regiment, 10th Company
XXVI Corps (Lieutenant-General Xiao Zhichu 萧之楚)
44th Division
XXXIX Corps (Lieutenant-General Liu Heding 刘和鼎)
56th Division
LIV Corps (General Huo Kuizhang 霍揆彰)
14th (Germanized) Division
98th Division
LXXIII Corps (General Wang Dongyuan 王东原)
15th Division
LXXIV Corps (Lieutenant-General Yu Jishi 俞济时**)
51st Division
58th Division*
34th Independent Brigade
60th Division
XV Corps (Lieutenant-General Liu Xing 刘兴)
23rd Division
53rd Division
102nd Division
103rd Division
LVII Corps (restructured) (Lieutenant-General Miao Chengliu 缪澂流)
111th Division
112th Division
River Defence sector (General Liu Xing)
XI Corps (Lieutenant-General Shanggong Yunhsing 上宫雲相)
33rd Division
40th Division
Lake Tai Garrison HQ
Artillery HQ
XIII Corps (Lieutenant-General Zhang Fang 张钫)
76th Division
XVI Corps (Lieutenant-General Li Yunheng 李韫珩)
53rd Division
111th Division
XLIII Corps (Lieutenant-General Guo Rudung 郭汝栋)
26th Division
LVII Corps (Lieutenant-General Huo Shouyi 霍守义)
112nd Division
LXXXIII Corps (Lieutenant-General Deng Longguang 邓龙光)
156th Division
Jiangyin and Zhenjing 镇江 fortresses
2nd Regiment PPC
4th Artillery Regiment
1/10th Heavy Artillery Regiment †
One battalion, 3rd Artillery Regiment
One battalion, 8th Artillery Regiment

CHINESE REINFORCEMENTS, LATE OCTOBER–EARLY NOVEMBER 1937

To 9th Army Group:
46th Division
154th Division
To Right Wing sector:
LXVII Corps (Lieutenant-General Wu Keren 吴克仁)
107th Division
108th Division
79th Division
One brigade from DC
To 15th Army Group
98th Division
To 21st Army Group
XLVIII Corps (Wei Yunsong) comprising troops from 170th and 172nd divisions

CHINESE FORCES AT NANJING, DECEMBER 1937

Garrison Commander: Tang Shengzhi
2nd Army Group and X Corps (General Xu Yuanquan 徐源泉)
41st Division
48th Division
LXVI Corps (Ye Zhao**)
159th Division
160th Division*
LXXI Corps (Wang Jingjiu)
87th Division (Germanized)
LXXII Corps (Sun Yuanliang**)
88th Division (Germanized)*
LXXIV Corps (Yu Jishi)
51st Division
58th Division
78th Corps (Song Xilian**)
36th Division (Germanized)*
LXXXIII Corps (Deng Longguang)
154th Division
156th Division
DC (Gui Yongqing)
Military Police (Xiao Shanling)
2nd Regiment
10th Regiment
No. 3 Tank Company (Major Zhao Guzhen 赵鹄振)
17 PzKpfw I Ausf. A tanks
Jiangyin Fortress Garrison (Lieutenant-General Xu Kang 许康)

Zhenjiang Fortress Garrison (Major-General Lin Xianyang 林显杨)
Jingning Fortress Garrison (Major-General Shao Baichang 邵白昌)
1/8th Artillery Regiment †
1/10th Artillery Regiment †
AA unit: 27 guns (37mm and 88mm Flak 18)
Anti-Tank guns (eight 37mm Pak 36)
57th Corps
103rd Division
112th Division[2]
Paramilitary forces

COUNTERATTACK FORCE – GUANGXI 'CLIQUE', 23RD ARMY GROUP (GENERAL 2ND CLASS LIU XIANG 刘湘)

XXI Corps (Lieutenant-General Tang Shizhun 唐式遵)
145th Division
146th Division
13th Independent Brigade
14th Independent Brigade
XXIII Corps (Lieutenant-General Pan Wenhua 潘 文华)
144th Division
147th Division
148th Division

JAPANESE FORCES

The IJNSLF base was in Hongkou District, a northern suburb of Shanghai. Within this reinforced concrete bastion was a diminished infantry brigade-sized unit supported by tanks, armoured cars and artillery. On 11 July, HIJMS *Idzumo*, a pre-World War I, British-built battlecruiser, and two light-cruisers returned from patrolling with Rear-Admiral Hasegawa on board, augmenting the gunboats and destroyers already in Shanghai. Soon, several more warships with marines arrived. Reinforcing Shanghai were HIJMS *Notoro* 能登呂, an oiler/seaplane tender with eight Nakajima E8N 'Dave' seaplanes, the cruisers *Kinu* 鬼怒, *Natori* 名取 and *Yura* 由良 from the 8th Cruiser Division, and the 11th Gunboat Division and 1st Destroyer Squadron with a host of vessels as well as the 1st Sasebo and 2nd Kure IJNLF regiments on board. In addition, there were two volunteer reserve infantry regiments made up from Japanese civilians in Shanghai; they wore no uniforms and were distinguished only by their armbands. On 11 August, the seaplane carrier HIJMS *Komoi* 神威 of the 12th Seaplane Tender Division provided a base for a series of pre-attack aerial surveys, checking out possible sites for airfields, but these flights were detected by the Chinese, which the Japanese knew because they compromised the Chinese telegraph system. To boost this already strong force, on 13 August, the Japanese added an even more formidable carrier group consisting of three vessels, the *Kaga*, *Hosho* and *Ryujo*, forming the 1st (21 fighters, 12 bombers, 9 attack aircraft) and 2nd (12 fighters, 12 bombers, 18 attack aircraft) Air-Attack forces, not to mention the 15 seaplanes from the 22nd Air Unit and 12th Cruiser Division. Land-based aircraft from the 1st (38 bombers and 14 fighters) and 2nd Combined groups (24 bombers, 30 fighters, 12 attack aircraft) were also added to the Japanese order of battle.

LAND FORCES, SHANGHAI FRONT, 13–19 AUGUST 1937

IJNSLF Shanghai (Rear Admiral Denshichi Okawachi 大川内传七)
(*c.*2,500 IJNSLF troops plus volunteer reservists)
Northern
1st battalion (less one company) (Lieutenant-Commander Hashimoto Uroku 桥本卯六); two Type 94 37mm QF guns, three LMG motorcycles, two Type 89B I-Go Otsu tanks and two armoured cars (Type 90 Sumida, Type 93 armoured car)
Central 1
2nd Battalion and 10th Company (less one platoon) (Lieutenant Sano Shigeshi 佐野重士); two 3.7cm RF guns, two Type 90 7cm infantry guns and four Type 96 15cm mortars
Central 2
6th Battalion
Eastern
5th Battalion (with 11th and 12th companies only) and 9th Coy (less 2nd platoon) (Lieutenant-Commander Shibakita Akira 柴北明); one Type 89B I-Go Otsu tank, one Vickers-Crossley M25 armoured car, four Type 41 7.5cm mountain guns, one LMG motorcycle (Type 97 Harley Davidson copy and Type 95 with sidecar)
Eight Character Bridge
3rd Battalion (with 5th and 6th companies only) with 2nd platoon from 10th Company (Lieutenant Ito Shegeru 伊藤茂); four Type 96 15cm mortars, two Type 92 7cm infantry guns, one Carden-Loyd VIb tankette, one Vickers-Crossley armoured car, one LMG motorcycle
Western
1/1st Company IJNSLF
Hankou
One company IJNLF with four Type 41 7.5cm mountain guns (relocated to Shanghai)

2 The 103rd and 112th were in Zhenjiang City; later withdrawn to Nanjing and placed under DC control.

TOP
A painting by the famous Japanese artist Ishii Kakutei 石井柏亭 of HIJMS *Idzumo* shelling Chinese positions with her QF 6in. guns. Note the torpedo booms around her.

BOTTOM
The *Idzumo* was designed and built by Armstrong of Newcastle upon Tyne, and served the IJN from 1900 to 1945. Next to her in this photo is the USS *Rochester*. (Author's collection)

Hongkou
IJNSLF on HIJMS *Idzumo* supplemented with non-combat troops (deployed 1 August) (Lieutenant-Commander Tsukioka Torashige 月岡虎茂)
Reserves
Headquarter staff of the Shanghai IJNSLF less one section
One company with four Type 98 2cm AA machine cannons
IJNLF troops from 8th Squadron
1st Destroyer Squadron
3rd Destroyer Squadron
Headquarters, 4th Battalion with 7th, 8th and 9th companies; four Type 4 15cm howitzers and Type 38 12cm howitzers, and two Type 41 7.5cm mountain guns (deployed 1 August)
First reinforcement 18–19 August
5th, 6th, 7th and 8th SLF battalions from Japan, along with 16 ships

IJA reinforcements, 23 August 1937

Shanghai Expeditionary Force (General Matsui Iwane)
3rd Division (Lieutenant-General Fujita Susumu)
5th Infantry Brigade
6th Infantry Regiment
68th Infantry Regiment
29th Infantry Brigade
18th Infantry Regiment
34th Infantry Regiment
3rd Field Artillery Regiment
3rd Cavalry Regiment
3rd Engineer Regiment
3rd Transport Regiment
11th Division (Lieutenant-General Yamamuro Monetake 山室宗武)
10th Infantry Brigade (Amaya Detachment)[3]
12th Infantry Regiment
22nd Infantry Regiment
22nd Infantry Brigade
43rd Infantry Regiment (Asama's Detachment: two battalions of infantry and one battery of guns)
44th Infantry Regiment
11th Mountain Artillery Regiment (less one battalion)
Cavalry Regiment
Engineer Regiment
Transport Regiment
5th Tank Battalion (Lieutenant-Colonel Hosomi Koreo细见惟雄) (32 Type 89, 23 Type 94 tanks)
8th Independent Light Armour Company (17 Type 94 tanks; transferred to X Corps)
5th Independent Heavy Artillery Brigade (48 24cm and 30cm howitzers)
6th Independent Heavy Artillery Brigade (48 Type 4 15cm howitzers; transferred to X Corps)
13th Field Heavy Artillery Regiment
14th Field Heavy Artillery Regiment
Independent 10th Field Artillery Regiment (less one battalion and half of baggage train; 24 Type 4 15cm howitzers)
4th Trench Mortar Battalion (Type 96 15cm mortars)
7th Independent MG Battalion
5th–10th Field AA Guns units (static)
8th Independent Engineers Regiment
Various logistics and signal units
6th Independent Air Squadron (reconnaissance from North China)

IJA reinforcements, 5 September 1937

Amaya Detachment (Major-General Amaya Naojiro 天谷直次郎)
10th Infantry Brigade, 11th Division
one Mountain Gun Battery from 11th Artillery Regiment

IJA reinforcements, 14–16 September 1937

Shigeto Detachment (Major-General Shigeto Chiaki 重藤千秋)[4]

IJA reinforcements, 22 September 1937

101st Division (Lieutenant-General Ito Masayoshi 伊东政喜)
101st Infantry Brigade
101st Infantry Regiment
149th Infantry Regiment
102nd Infantry Brigade
103rd Infantry Regiment
157th Infantry Regiment
101st Mountain Artillery Regiment
101st Cavalry Regiment
101st Engineer Regiment
101st Transport Regiment

IJA reinforcements, 27 September 1937

9th Division (Lieutenant-General Yoshizumi Ryosuke)
6th Infantry Brigade
7th Infantry Regiment
35th Infantry Regiment
18th Infantry Brigade
19th Infantry Regiment
36th Infantry Regiment
9th Mountain Artillery Regiment
9th Cavalry Regiment
9th Engineer Regiment
9th Transport Regiment

IJA reinforcements, 1 October 1937

13th Division (Lieutenant-General Ogisu Rippei 荻洲立兵)
26th Infantry Brigade
58th Infantry Regiment
116th Infantry Regiment
103rd Infantry Brigade (Detachment of Major-General Yamada Senj)
65th Infantry Regiment
104th Infantry Regiment
19th Mountain Artillery Regiment
17th Cavalry Regiment
13th Engineer Regiment
13th Transport Regiment

Additional armour attached to SEF by 5 November 1937[5]

1st Armoured Battalion
2nd Independent Armoured Company
6th Independent Armoured Company
7th Independent Armoured Company

IJA reinforcements, 5 November 1937

X Corps (Lieutenant-General Yanagawa Heisuke)
6th Division (Lieutenant-General Tani Hisao)
11th Infantry Brigade
13th Infantry Regiment
47th Infantry Regiment
36th Infantry Brigade
23rd Infantry Regiment
45th Infantry Regiment
6th Field Artillery Regiment
6th Cavalry Regiment
6th Engineer Regiment
6th Transport Regiment
18th Division (Lieutenant-General Ushijima Sado 牛岛贞雄)[6]
23rd Infantry Brigade
55th Infantry Regiment
56th Infantry Regiment
35th Infantry Brigade
114th Infantry Regiment
124th Infantry Regiment
18th Mountain Artillery Regiment
22nd Cavalry Battalion
12th Independent River-Crossing Regiment
12th Engineer Regiment
12th Transport Regiment

114th Division (Lieutenant-General Suematsu Shigeharu)
127th Infantry Brigade
66th Infantry Regiment
102nd Infantry Regiment
128th Infantry Brigade
115th Infantry Regiment
150th Infantry Regiment
120th Field Artillery Regiment
118th Cavalry Regiment
114th Engineer Regiment
114th Transport Regiment

3 Sent to Qingdao to protect Japanese expats; rejoined the division in September.
4 Made up entirely of Taiwanese troops, 2nd Infantry Regiment, and supporting arms.
5 Precise landing dates unknown.
6 Originally destined as the strategic reserve for Manchuria.

9th Brigade, 5th Division (Detachment of Major-General Kunisaki Noboru 国崎登)
41st Infantry Regiment
3rd Independent Mountain Artillery Regiment (less 2nd Battalion and half of ammunition train)
3rd Cavalry Regiment
3rd Engineer Regiment
3rd Transport Regiment
One Independent MG Battalion
9th Light Armoured Company
Two Independent Engineer Units (one River Crossing)
Eight Field AA Units
2nd Independent Mountain Gun Regiment

To accommodate the much-expanded force in the Shanghai theatre, the IJA high command decided to create a uniform body, the CCA, to coordinate both the SEF and X Corps, with General Matsui as commander. In addition to the above-mentioned forces, the following units were added to the CCA to be placed in an expanded SEF:

16th Division (Major-General Nakajima Kesago 中岛今朝吾)[7]
19th Infantry Brigade
9th Infantry Regiment
20th Infantry Regiment
30th Infantry Brigade
33rd Infantry Regiment
38th Infantry Regiment
22nd Field Artillery Regiment
20th Cavalry Regiment
16th Engineer Regiment
16th Transport Regiment
1st Armoured Battalion
2nd Independent Armoured Company
6th Independent Armoured Company
7th Independent Armoured Company

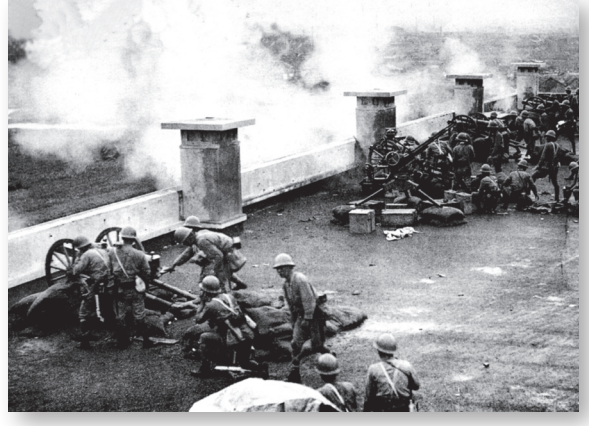
Shigeto Detachment (expanded to a Mixed Brigade)
Two Taiwanese Infantry regiments with artillery and logistics elements

Two brigades of government troops from the puppet state of Manchukuo (arrived 7–16 September)
3rd Aviation Regiment HQ (Brigadier Tadaharu Chiga 値賀忠治)[8]
3rd (Fighter) Air Battalion
5th (Light Bomber) Air Battalion
8th (Fighter) Air Battalion
2/5th Squadron
4th Independent Air Squadron (Recce)
6th Independent Air Squadron (Recce)
10th Independent Air Squadron
11th Independent Air Squadron
15th Independent Air Squadron
IJA landing ship dock *Shinshu Maru* 神州丸

Naval forces, December 1937

China Area Fleet (CAF – Rear-Admiral Hasegawa Kiyoshi)[9]
Third Fleet (Rear-Admiral Hasegawa Kiyoshi; flagship HIJMS *Idzumo*)
10th Combat Division
HIJMS *Tenryu* 天
HIJMS *Tasuta* 龍田
11th Combat Division
HIJMS *Ataka* 安宅 (flagship from 30 July)
HIJMS *Yaeyama*八重山
HIJMS *Seta* 勢多
HIJMS *Hira* 比良
HIJMS *Hozu* 保津
HIJMS *Katata* 堅田
HIJMS *Atmai* 熱海
HIJMS *Futami* 二見
HIJMS *Kotaka* 小鷹
HIJMS *Toba* 鳥羽
HIJMS *Hasu* 蓮
HIJMS *Tsuga* 梅
HIJMS *Kuri* 栗
4th Torpedo Division
HIJMS *Kiso* 木曽
6th Destroyer Squadron
HIJMS *Hibiki* 響
HIJMS *Ikazuchi* 雷
HIJMS *Inazuma* 电
10th Destroyer Squadron
HIJMS *Sagiri* 狭霧
HIJMS *Sazanami* 漣
HIJMS *Akatsuki* 暁
1st Torpedo Squadron
HIJMS *Ôtori* 鴻
HIJMS *Hiyodori* 鵯
HIJMS *Hayabusa* 隼
HIJMS *Kasasagi* 鵲
1st Naval Construction Corps
1st Carrier Division
HIJMS *Ryujo*
HIJMS *Hosho*
29th Destroyer Squadron (HIJMS *Oite* 追風, HIJMS *Hayate* 疾風, HIJMS *Asanagi* 朝風, HIJMS *Yūnagi* 夕風)
2nd Carrier Division
HIJMS *Kaga*
3rd Carrier Division
HIJMS *Kamikawa Maru* 神川丸
HIJMS *Kamoi* 神威
HIJMS *Kagu Maru* 香久丸
1st Combined Air Group
2nd Combined Air Group

Fourth Fleet (Admiral Toyada Soemu 豊田 副武)
9th Combat Division
14th Combat Division[10]
4th Torpedo Division[11]
5th Torpedo Division
13th(?) Destroyer Squadron
16th Destroyer Squadron



The battle-winning instrument: Type 41 75mm mountain guns lined up on the roof of the IJNSLF headquarters in northern Shanghai. In between them at centre is a Type 93 13mm HMG, a copy of the French Hotchkiss 13.2mm HMG. (Author's collection)

7 From North China; landed 12/13 November at Baimaokou 白茆口 north-east of Changshu city 常熟市, to the north-west of Shanghai at the mouth of the Yangtze River.
8 All of these aviation units were originally under control of the SEF.
9 Formed 20 October 1937.
10 Transferred from 10th Combat Division and renamed.
11 Transferred from Third Fleet.

OPPOSING PLANS

CHINESE

It might seem incredible, but initially Chiang Kaishek had no plan to fight the Japanese in 1937; he did, however, draw up defensive plans, with the help of von Falkenhausen, to guard against war with the Japanese, but only to be fought at a later time. Von Falkenhausen's defensive plan divided the terrain into three zones. The first was the landing/defensive zone, which von Falkenhausen foresaw was somewhere around Hangzhou Bay, to the south of Shanghai. Zone two comprised Shanghai city, and the third zone was Nanjing, the then capital of China. The plan was to fight a delaying battle, which would involve drawing the Japanese inland after a brief engagement around the landing zone and Shanghai, dragging them into the marshy terrain centred on Lake Tai, where the Japanese would come up against a series of strong defensive lines. It was envisaged that the marshy ground around Lake Tai would hamper the movement of the Japanese. If properly equipped and manned, these defensive lines would protect Nanjing some 300km north-west of Shanghai, but should the Japanese break through, the grand strategic plan was to draw the Japanese further inland, extending their supply lines before making a last stand – a Chinese Alamo – in Sichuan Province, deep in central China.

Lake Tai lies 130km due west of Shanghai, and the only way round the lake was to the north or the south of it. To block the Japanese, Chiang constructed the Wufu Line (from Suzhou's Wu County 吴县 to Fushan town 福山镇) and the Xideng Line 锡澄线 (between Wuxi 无锡 and Jiangyin 江阴 city) to block the northern route, while the southern route was to be defended by two further defensive lines, the Zhapingjia Line 乍平嘉线 (linking Zhapu 乍浦, Pinghu 平湖镇 and Jiashan 嘉善 towns) and the Haijia Line 海嘉线 (linking Haiyan 海盐, Jiaxing 嘉兴 and Wujiang 吴江). However, in August 1937 these lines were still very much work in progress. For example, the Wufu Line 吴福线 featured plans for 226 strongpoints, but only 157

Elite Chinese troops infiltrating into northern Shanghai. Note the NCO is using a Chinese favourite sidearm, the German Mauser C96 semi-automatic pistol, which by 1937 the Chinese had successfully cloned. (Author's collection)

The Bofors 75mm M1930 was a mountain gun that the Chinese imported in great numbers. On 13 August, the 2nd Independent Brigade used this gun to provide artillery support to Zhang Zhizhong's 9th Army Group. (Getty Images 548798591)

had been completed and many were so poorly constructed and poorly located that when the battle commenced, the line soon collapsed without putting up much of a fight.

Knowing that the Chinese army was no match for the Japanese in a direct confrontation, Chiang Kaishek at first did not want to fight the Japanese other than in a small-scale, local engagement to buy time for when his Germanized army was ready. However, the Japanese actions had pushed China into a corner, where public opinion was fed up with further appeasement. Chiang chose Shanghai as the battleground. Why did he do so? Firstly, Beijing (where the Marco Polo Bridge Incident occurred) was far away; secondly, his loyal and best troops were in the Nanjing area; and thirdly, knowing he could not confront the Japanese head on, he hoped to rope the international community in Shanghai into the game, to pressure the Japanese to halt their encroachment on China by making a stand right on the doorstep of the International Settlement. After all, war is bad for business and the international community wanted nothing more than the status quo; they could pressurize the Japanese to withdraw, thus buying time for Chiang to continue building his Germanized army.

After deciding to fight, Chiang rushed some troops from his best units – the 87th and 88th divisions – to Shanghai secretly (the 523rd Regiment of the 88th Division was ordered to enter Shanghai dressed in PPC uniforms) ahead of the main force in the hope of conducting a surprise strike to wipe out the IJNSLF forces in Shanghai before reinforcements arrived. With a victory in hand, this would strengthen his hand in the post-fighting negotiations – or so Chiang thought.

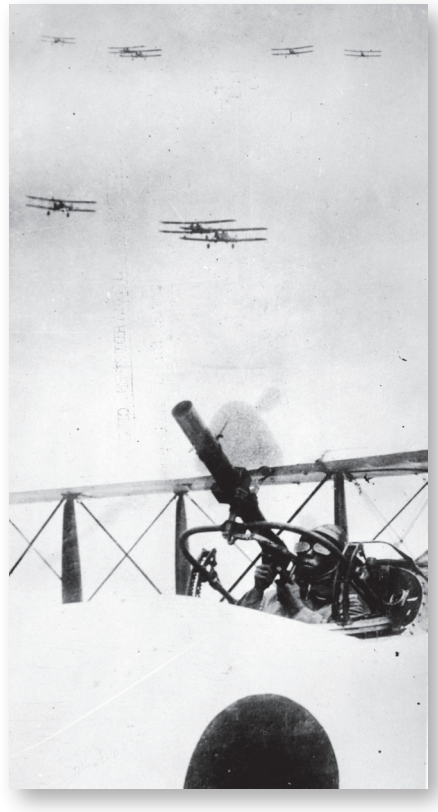
JAPANESE

In 1937, the Japanese position on China was incoherent, to say the least. The civil government was initially against the enlargement of the war in China, so much so that on 23 July the then Japanese Prime Minister Prince Konoe

Fumimaro 近衛文麿 attempted to send an emissary to China to conduct secret peace talks, hoping to contain the conflict. However, this mild-mannered aristocrat with a weak leadership style allowed the 'bullies' from the military to railroad him and dictate the direction of national strategy. On the military side, the IJA was split; elements of the high command did not want a war in China, but others were keen to 'teach China a lesson'. Both sides knew that deep down they could not afford a drawn-out war with China. For the Japanese, the real enemy was the Soviet Union and communism, and thus the bulk of the IJA had to be on guard against a Soviet threat; there was no question of milking the home army for a China campaign. To the hawks, China was simply just a straw house: one stern blow and it would all be over. However, as the situation developed, Japanese spies began to suspect that the Chinese were up to something, so to pre-empt any Chinese moves, and under the excuse of 'protecting Japanese interests', the IJN brought in reinforcements to evacuate Japanese expats from Wuhan (Hankou 汉口), a major city upstream on the Yangtze, to Shanghai.

Once the wheels of war were set in motion, incredible as it may seem, the Japanese too did not have a coherent plan or strategy regarding how to pursue the war in China, other than the principle of protecting Japanese interests. However, once the Japanese had confirmed that the Chinese were moving troops to Shanghai, the original principle of 'no escalation' was soon forgotten and the worst nightmare of any strategist became a reality: mission creep. In a war without a clear goal or strategy, the generals soon allowed events to drag them along instead of dictating the course of war. On 20 September, when the Chief of General Army Staff Prince Kan'in Kotohito 閑院宮載仁親王 met Emperor Hirohito 裕仁, he told the emperor that the war policy was still focussing on limiting the war in China and guarding against the Soviet threat. Even after the landing at Hangzhou Bay on 5 November, the same war objective still held sway. But three days later, the objective was suddenly changed to become 'destroy the Chinese army', with the limit of exploitation set at Suzhou and Jiaxing – there was no mention of Nanjing.

However, as with the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, the course of the war in China was not decided by the cabinet or generals in Tokyo but by local commanders who decided that they knew better. The two main proponents of this hawkish movement were Matsui Iwane, the commander of the CCA, and the commander of X Corps, Yanagawa Heisuke. They took it upon themselves to ignore Directive No. 600,[12] and once Jiaxing had been captured on the morning of the 19th, that afternoon orders were given to march on Nanjing. With the army already on the move, the only thing left for the Imperial HQ was to confirm what was already a fact and replace Directive No. 600 with Communiqué No. 8: 'Attack and capture the enemy's capital, Nanjing' – but then the IJA was already on its way there.



In 1937 the IJN was in a transition from fabric-covered biplanes to metal-skinned monoplanes. This picture depicts the Mitsubishi B2M, a Japanese carrier-based torpedo bomber, built by Mitsubishi to a British design by Blackburn. Note the .303-cailbre Lewis Gun. (Getty Images 551912485)

12 Directive No. 600 provided the following orders: 'Further to Directive No. 138, the tactical area of operations for the CCA will be in the area EAST of Suzhou and Jiaxing. Showa 12th year, November 7th [1937].' Directive No. 138 had merely provided the CCA with its mission: to destroy the enemy in the vicinity of Shanghai.

Shanghai, and the 9 August 1937 Ohyama Incident.

Main British/SVC pillboxes
British Sector (Shanghai Volunteer Corps, Dutch Marines)
British Sector (Regular Army)
American Sector (USMC)
French Sector (Vietnam Colonial Troops)
Italian Sector (Regular Army)
Japanese Sector
1. British barracks
2. British HQ
3. French barracks
4. US barracks
5. US HQ
6. Italian barracks
7. Shanghai Volunteer Corps Battery barracks
8. Shanghai Volunteer Corps barracks
9. British consulate
10. Japanese consulate
11. French consulate
0 1 mile
0 1km
N
To Wusong
To Yangtze River
Power station
Water works
Rifle range
Hongkou Park
IJNSLF Barracks
North Station
The Bund
Huangpu River
Race Course
Chinese Old City
South Station
Hangzhou Railway
Suzhou Creek
Nanjing Railway
Nanjing Rd (Bubbling Well Rd)
Yan'an Road (Ave Foch)
Huaihai Road (Ave Joffre)
Hongkou Park
Zhongshan Park (Jessfield Park)
East China Normal University (St John's University)
Zhen Yu
Jessfield Station
Yan'an Rd (Gt. Western Rd)
Kaixuan Rd (Keswick Rd)
Hua Shan Rd (Ave Haig)
Hongkong Road (Ave Petain)
Rifle range (Fr)
Cathedral
To Longhua Town and Airfield
To Honggiao Aerodrome
Xujiahui Station
1. Lt Ohyama is travelling west with his driver in a marked military saloon along the Honggiao Road towards the aerodrome at high speed.
2. When he fails to stop at a PPC roadblock, Chinese soldiers open fire.
3. A Chinese PPC private is killed when Ohyama returns fire.
4. Ohyama's car runs off the road into a ditch. He dies trying to escape, falling next to the car.
5. Seaman 1st Class Saito Yozo makes a run from the car, but is shot dead.
War memorial
Kongqang Rd (Monument Rd)
Honggiao Aerodrome
Golf course (now Shanghai Zoo)
Honggiao Rd
Shanghai Sanatorium
Inner Ring Rd
(Tongshan Rd)

THE CAMPAIGN

SHANGHAI

On 9 August around 1730hrs, Lieutenant Ohyama Isao, the commanding officer of the 1st Company IJNSLF and Leading Seaman 1st Class Saito Yozo rammed their saloon car through a PPC checkpoint near Hongqiao Aerodrome (today, Hongqiao Airport). Both were killed. At first, both sides were conciliatory but by the morning of the 11th, the attitude of the Japanese had toughened and demanded that the Chinese withdraw entirely from Shanghai. The hawkish generals were obviously anticipating conflict, for the first Japanese reinforcements had already arrived in Shanghai by the 10th. It was a perfect storm; the elite Chinese troops from the 87th and 88th divisions were already moving on Shanghai and the ROCN began mining the river and sinking blockships; the latter plan was, however, foiled by a Chinese traitor, who turned out to be Huang Jun 黄濬, Confidential Secretary of The Executive Yuan (Cabinet Office). Huang had previously played his part in other acts of treachery. On 26 August, the British ambassador's car marked with a large Union Jack flag was strafed by IJA fighters, and Ambassador Sir Hughe Knatchbull-Hugessen was seriously injured. To escape Japanese detection, Chiang Kaishek had been using Sir Hughe's car to enter Shanghai, but on the fateful day Chiang cancelled his trip at the last minute and escaped the strafing attack. Chiang and his wife would be targeted in other incidents involving IJA fighters in the coming weeks; Huang Jun, however, was soon arrested and publicly executed.

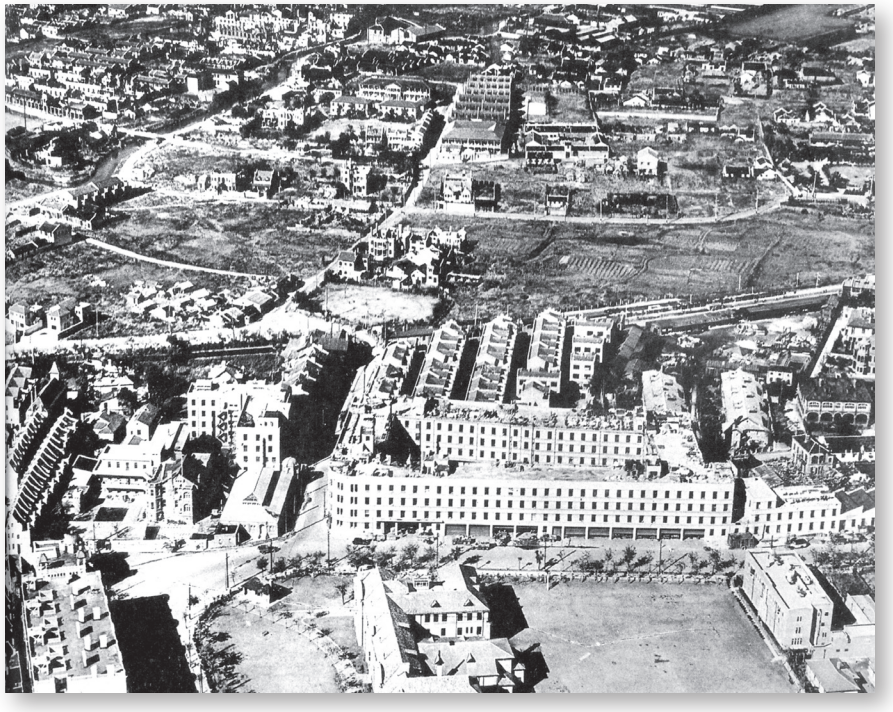
By 12 August, Zhang Zhizhong had both his elite Germanized divisions in place in the northern part of Shanghai, around what is today the area around Shanghai's main railway station and Baoshan steel mill. The 169th Regiment, 57th Division was at Xujiahui 徐家汇, today a main shopping district, and the 659th Regiment at Hongqiao Aerodrome. Zhang was planning to strike at dawn on the 13th when Chiang called a halt, still hoping that the mediation of the Western powers would save the day. Later, Zhang would blame Chiang for meddling, and this would be the start of the souring of the relationship that led

The shot-up sedan of Lieutenant Ohyama Isao. Both Ohyama and Leading Seaman 1st Class Saito Yozo were killed in the accident. (Shanghai Museum)

British Ambassador to China Sir Hughe Montgomery Knatchbull-Hugessen narrowly escaped death when his car was strafed by a Japanese fighter. The Japanese claimed mistaken identity, despite the large Union Jack flag on the car's roof. (Nanjing Massacre Museum)

to Zhang's replacement on 23 August. On the morning of 13 August, the IJNSLF tanks were seen making probing moves, and pot-shots were exchanged by the two sides; by 1500hrs, however, extensive fighting had broken out. Japanese naval gunfire and aircraft were hitting the Chinese positions, and IJNSLF was seen to be taking up stand-to positions. The first major clash happened at Eight Character Bridge, when 300 IJNSLF troops attempted to cross into the Chinese zone, before being repulsed. To seize the initiative and gain international support, Chiang ordered an immediate news release to all Western news media in Shanghai. On the evening of 13 August, Chiang ordered Zhang to commence an all-out offensive.

On the 14th, the six regiments of the ROCAF took off to bomb key IJN positions, with HIJMS *Idzumo* (moored on the Bund just east of the Japanese Consulate) as well as the IJNSLF HQ being key targets. Despite many attempts to hit her, *Idzumo* suffered only minor damage and the ROCAF succeeded in only hitting the Japanese Consulate. Fighting in a densely populated city like Shanghai, collateral damage was bound to occur. USS *Augusta* and HMS *Cumberland* on the Huangpu River experienced numerous near misses. One stray bomb from the ROCAF caused 2,100 casualties (both killed and injured) on the busy Nanjing Road junction outside the Cathay Hotel (which still stands today, known as the Peace Hotel). At about 1600hrs, a second stray bomb landed outside the entertainment complex of 'The Great World' (also still standing) causing 2,021 casualties. The SMC



The IJNSLF HQ is the large quadrangle building in the mid- to lower left part of this photo. This building still stands. At top left is part of the narrower section of the Suzhou Creek. (Author's collection)

was deeply concerned by the course of events, and besides mobilizing the SVC, the British sent the 2nd Battalion, Royal Welch Fusiliers and 1st Battalion, Royal Ulster Rifles to support HMS *Cumberland* while the Americans sent the 1st Battalion, 6th Marines (USMC) and USS *Augusta* (CA-31) to back up the 4th Marines in Shanghai. Last but not least, the Italians dispatched the famous 1st Battalion, 10th Granatieri di Savoia Regiment as well as the light cruiser *Raimondo Montecuccoli*, and the Dutch sent a contingent of Marines to Shanghai.

Eight Character Bridge in 1937 – the bridge was where the first fighting broke out. The Suzhou Creek at this point was only several metres wide. (Author's collection)

Zhang's H-hour was 1500hrs; the plan was to push the IJNSLF out of Shanghai and occupy all possible landing sites to block reinforcements. The two Germanized divisions were to attack on a broad front against multiple objectives. Facing the 88th Division were two IJNSLF battalions. The attacks by Zhang's forces made slow progress; the Japanese had set up mobile strongpoints using sandbagged armoured cars and tanks as pillboxes. Japanese naval gunfire proved to be a decisive factor, causing heavy Chinese casualties, including the 264th Brigade (part of 88th Division) commander Huang Meixing 黄梅兴 who was killed along with all his staff when a shell penetrated his command post. While Zhang Zhizhong was planning the attacks for the second day, Chiang called a halt on any further offensive actions; the adverse weather conditions also limited any opportunities for aircraft operations, in addition to large-scale ground operations.

On the night of the 15th, Zhang's forces were boosted with the arrival of the 98th Division, which was assigned to support the 87th. On the night of the 16th, the ROCN made a rare appearance and launched a torpedo-boat raid on HIJMS *Idzumo*, but the attack missed the target. While Zhang was concentrating on his plans in western Shanghai, on the 14th the Chinese 337th Regiment and a battalion of artillery from the 2nd Brigade approached Shanghai from the south-west, crossing the Huangpu River into Pudong 浦东 and eastern Shanghai and hitting the Japanese logistics depots. This Pudong force was reinforced by elements of the Chinese 55th and 57th divisions and managed to send the IJNSLF scurrying to their floating refuges.

The Japanese were taken back by the ferocity of the Chinese attack, and the IJN called for immediate reinforcement. Two battalions of IJNLF troops from Dalian in Northern China were diverted to Shanghai, landing on the morning of the 18th, and a further two battalions arrived from Sasebo, Japan the next day. The IJNSLF HQ had been built using heavily reinforced concrete, and even civilian buildings such as the Kung-Ta 公达 or Shanghai Textile Mill were built with military-grade materials, allowing the IJNSLF to turn these locations into fortresses in the event of war. Chinese shells were unable to penetrate these Japanese strongholds, a failure compounded by the Chinese lack of armour-piercing ammunition and poor aiming by the ROCAF during many of its wasted bombing missions. These stubborn defensive islands proved to be a significant factor in denying the Chinese a rapid victory.

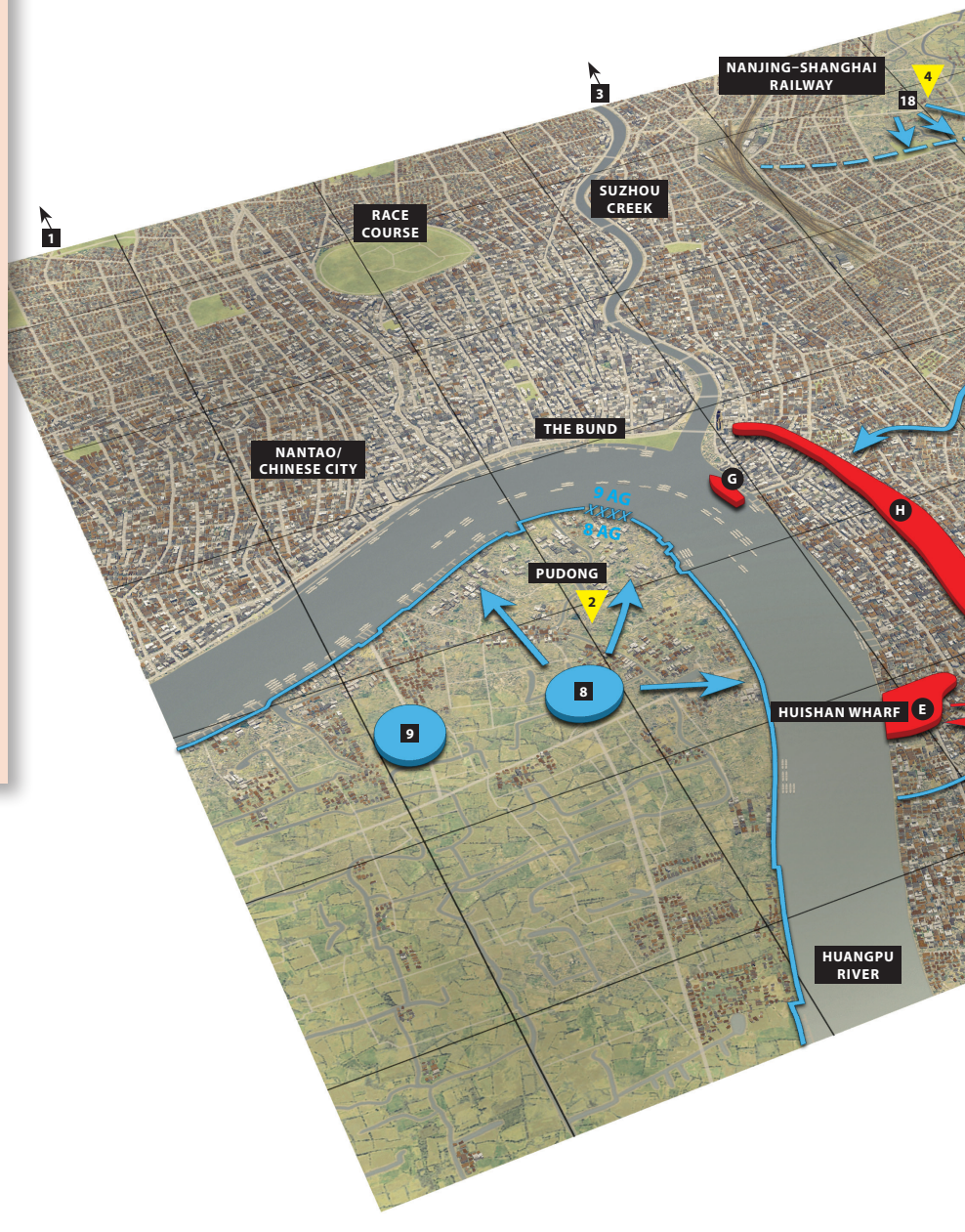
CHINESE

Phase 1 (13–18 August):

1. 659th Regiment, 20th Independent Brigade (He) (at Hongqiao Aerodrome, western Shanghai) 169th Brigade (advanced elements) (Si), 57th Division (heading towards Shanghai on the Hongqiao Road) 169th Brigade (main body) (Si), 57th Division (at Xujiahui, south-western Shanghai)
2. 658th Regiment (Li), 169th Brigade, 61st Division (in the Nanxiang area)
3. 1st Battalion, 10th Artillery Regiment (150mm guns) (to the west of 262nd Brigade)
4. 3rd Artillery Regiment
5. 8th Artillery Regiment
6. 1st Battalion (Yi), 523rd Regiment, 262nd Brigade, 88th Division
7. 264th Brigade (Huang), 88th Division
8. 337th Regiment (Li), 169th Brigade, 57th Division
9. 1st Battalion (Cai), 2nd Regiment, 2nd Artillery Brigade

Phase 2 (19–22 August):

10. 211th Regiment (Li Zhi Peng 李志鹏), 106th Brigade, 36th Division
11. 215th Regiment (Liu), 106th Brigade, 36th Division
12. 216th Regiment (Hu Jia Qiang 胡家强), 108th Brigade, 36th Division
13. 2nd Armoured Company (Guo)
14. 212th Regiment (Gu Baoyu 顾葆裕), 106th Brigade, 36th Division
15. 2nd Armoured Company (Zheng)
16. 522nd Regiment (Yi Anhua 易安华), 261st Brigade, 78th Division
17. Unknown platoon, I Demonstration Corps (37mm anti-tank gun)
18. 262nd Brigade (Zhu Chi 朱赤), 88th Division

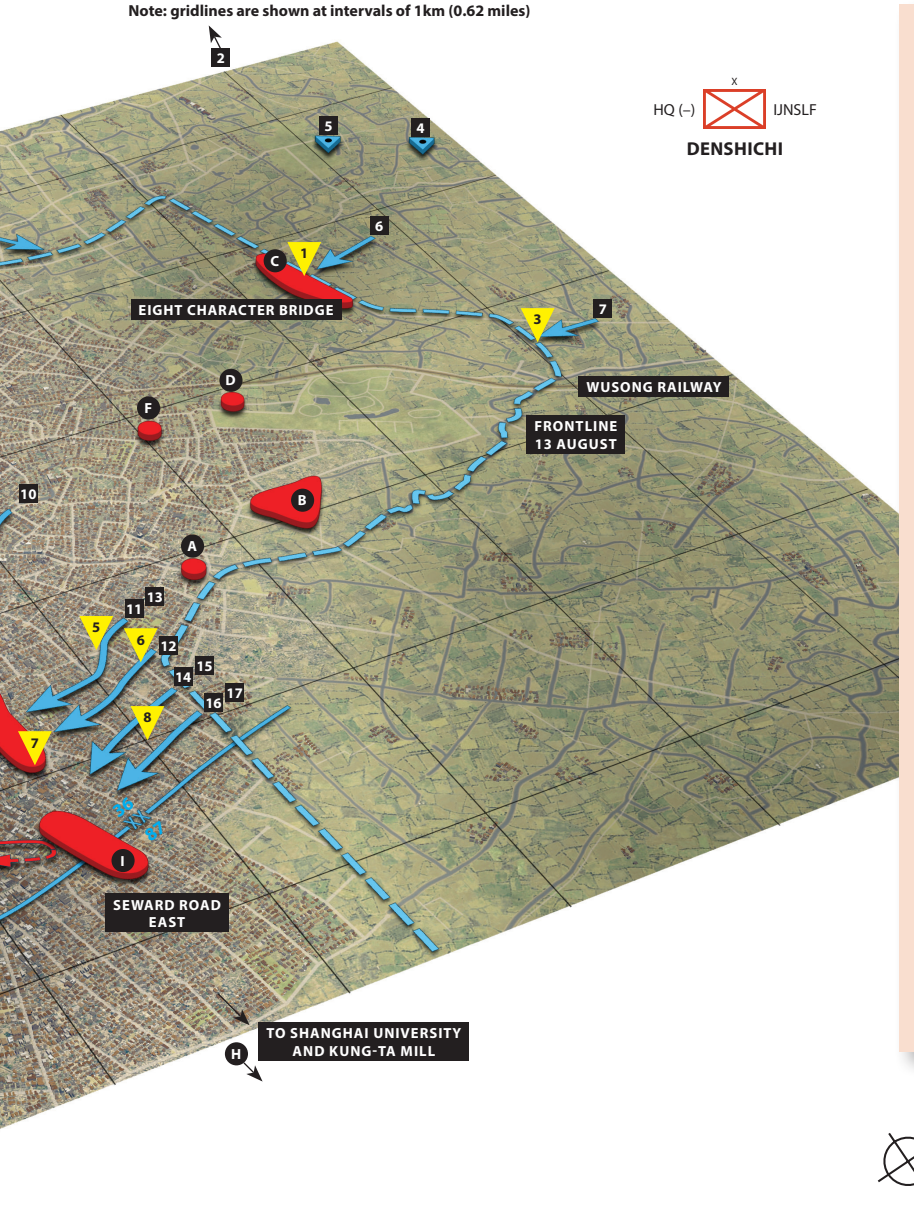


9 AG XXXX
ZHANG ZHIZHONG

8 AG XXXX
ZHANG FAKUI

BATTLE OF SHANGHAI, 13–22 AUGUST 1937

Despite deploying elite troops with superiority in numbers, Chiang failed to crush the Japanese garrison before reinforcements arrived.



JAPANESE

Phase 1 (13–18 August):

A. Northern Force:
1st Battalion (Hashimoto) (less elements), IJNSLF
QF gun platoon, IJNSLF
Two light tanks
Two armoured cars
Two anti-tank guns

B. Central Force 2:
2nd Battalion (Sano), IJNSLF
10th Company (less elements), IJNSLF
Anti-aircraft platoon (less elements), IJNSLF
Four 150mm heavy mortars
Two 75mm medium guns
Two 75mm anti-tank guns

C. Eight Character Bridge Force:
3rd Battalion (Ito), IJNSLF
10th Company, IJNSLF
2nd Platoon, IJNSLF
Four 150mm heavy mortars
Two 75mm mountain guns
One light tank
One armoured car

D. Brigade HQ and reserve (held out for the entire battle):
Brigade HQ (Denshichi) (less elements), IJNSLF
4th Battalion HQ (less elements), IJNSLF
2nd Platoon, 9th Company (mountain guns)
Anti-Aircraft Company
Mixed temporary battalion (7th, 8th, 9th companies), IJN
Two 75mm medium guns
Two 120mm heavy guns
Four 150mm heavy guns

E. Central Force 1/Hongkou Force:
9th Battalion (Tsukiaka), IJNSLF
1 Company (with added elements), HIJMS *Idzumo*, IJNSLF

F. Central Force 2 Detachment:
6th Battalion, IJSLF

G. HIJMS *Idzumo*

H. Eastern force (at Shanghai University/King-Ta Mill):
5th Battalion (Shibakita) (less elements), IJNSLF
9th Company (less elements), IJNSLF
Four medium and one light tank
One armoured car

Phase 2 (19–22 August):

I. 7th Battalion (Yasuda), IJNSLF

EVENTS

Phase 1 (13–18 August)

1. 13 August: the battle of Shanghai begins with a firefight between the Chinese 1st Battalion (Yi), 523rd Regiment and the 3rd Regiment, IJNSLF at Eight Character Bridge. The positions of both sides change hands several times during the day.

2. 14 August: the 337th Regiment, supported by artillery, attacks Japanese warehouses and commercial facilities in Pudong serving as military depots, ammunition dumps and even strongpoints.

3. 15–16 August: the initial Chinese attacks on the IJNSLF positions are disappointing. Brigadier Huang Meixing 黄梅兴 dies when his Tac HQ is destroyed by mortar fire.

4. 17 August: General Zhang Zhizhong launches Operation ***Iron Fist***, with multiple axes of attack. Spearheading the operation is 1st Battalion, 523rd Regiment, which leads 262nd Brigade's attack towards the IJNSLF HQ. Meanwhile, to the east (not shown) the 583rd Regiment, 292nd Brigade, 98th Division (under 87th Division command) takes Shanghai University but fails to capture the Kung-Ta/Shanghai Textile Mill.

Phase 2 (19–22 August)

5. 2100 hrs, 21 August: the Chinese 215th Regiment, 106th Brigade, 36th Division attacks along the Xiaofeng (now Gaoyang) Road.

6. Meanwhile, the Chinese 522nd Regiment, supported by the 1st Armoured Company, moves in parallel along the Gongping Road.

7. Facing the Chinese units is the newly arrived 7th Battalion, IJNSLF from Kure. The Chinese eventually reach Huishan Wharf on the night of the 22nd, but are later pushed back.

8. Simultaneously, the Chinese 1st Regiment, 212nd Brigade, supported by Vickers tanks of the 2nd Armoured Company, moves along the Zhoushan (left) and Anguo (right) roads. It meets stiff resistance at the Zhoushan/Seward Road East (now East Changzhi Road) junction. The Chinese 522nd Regiment captures the Seihan Printing Press, an IJN strongpoint.

The results of Japanese aerial operations: the dead litter the Nanjing Road. (Shanghai Archive)

On 19 August, the Chinese 36th Division, one of Chiang's elite units, arrived from Xi'an 西安 in north-west China, and was thrown into battle the next day without any rest. This attack, the fourth launched by Zhang since 13 August, was supported by two companies of tanks; the 36th Division moved on a southerly axis, with the 87th Division positioned on the Chinese right flank to capture the wharfs along the Huangpu River. This coordinated attack included the 88th Division, who were tasked with striking to the east; in reserve was the 98th Division, splitting its two brigades to support the 87th and the 36th. The Chinese fought fiercely; staff officer Xiong Xinmin 熊新民 reported that one Chinese soldier detonated himself beneath a Japanese tank in an effort to halt it. The Japanese were being pushed to the limit; some 200 were forced into the International Settlements and detained by the SVC. However, unable to sustain the attack, the Chinese had to withdraw with heavy casualties, losing all of their tanks and suffering 1,200 casualties. The lack of training in infantry–armour tactics, urban fighting and heavy weapons contributed to the failure. Many of the soldiers, especially those from the regional forces, had never experienced modern warfare; some had never seen a plane before. This lack of awareness of air camouflage, fire and poor discipline meant that as the campaign drew on, soldiers often fought hungry, as cooking was not allowed for fear of shelling and bombardment. Having marched hundreds of miles and eaten very little, and then to be thrown into battle immediately, was not an ideal way to get the best from any soldier.

Despite heavy losses, the Chinese managed to clear the Japanese from eastern Shanghai, and forced the Japanese to the western side of the river. The Chinese were unable to hold on to their gains, and the Japanese managed to regain the upper hand with the arrival of fresh troops.

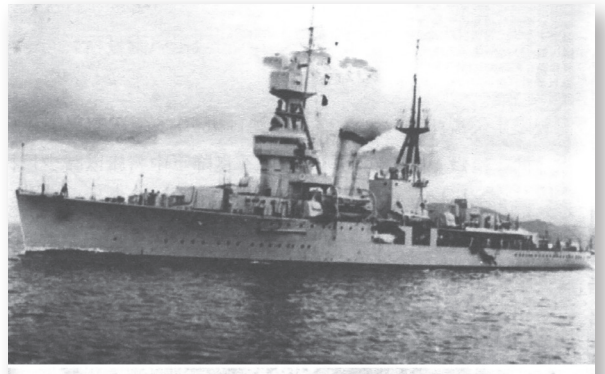
Western residents and journalists from the International Settlement watch the developing battle of Shanghai from a rooftop grandstand. (Getty Images 2634902)

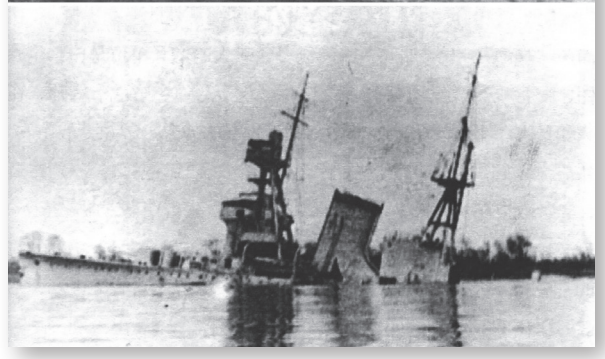
The naval war, August–December 1937

To prevent the Japanese from using the Yangtze to attack inland, the ROCN ordered a blockade on 7 August. A force of five light cruisers and one training cruiser arrived on 11 August. Some 228 ships were sunk as blockships and mines were laid on the Yangtze and Huangpu; aids to navigation were also destroyed. The Chinese First Fleet was sent to Jiangyin while the Second Fleet was dispatched to Nanjing. Forewarned by a Chinese traitor, the Japanese managed to escape before the trap was set.

Rear Admiral Hasegawa Kiyoshi ordered a softening of the Chinese defences in the Jiangyin area by aerial bombardment, with the first aerial attack taking place on 16 August. The heaviest raid took place at 0900hrs on 22 September, when 12 Type 92 B3Y bombers escorted by six Type 95 Ki-10 fighters from the 12th Air Group under Captain Imamura Osamu 今村脩 bombed the fort, losing one plane; the *Pinghai* 平海 suffered a hit, causing some flooding and wounding several crewmen including her Captain Gao Xianshen 高宪申, and the ROCNS *Ninghai* was also damaged. Wave after wave continued all afternoon on the 22nd, ceasing only after sunset. The ROCNS training cruiser *Jingswei* was damaged but not sunk. On 23 September, the relentless attacks began again; 12th Air Group was joined by 13th Air Group, totalling 84 planes in four waves, and together finally succeeded in sinking both the *Ninghai* and *Pinghai* (although both ships were later refloated by the Japanese); in comparison, the ROCN lost nine ships. On 25 September, 16 IJN bombers from *Kaga* came for ROCNS *Yatsen*. She succeeded in downing two of these planes before being sunk. On hearing of the loss of three major vessels, Chiang dispatched part of the Second Fleet to Jiangyin. Just as it arrived there, the ROCNS gunboat *Jiankang* was sunk after being attacked by 11 bombers. The decimation of the small Chinese fleet did not end there; before the end of the campaign another eight vessels were sunk (some by the Chinese themselves as blockships), virtually wiping the ROCN off the map. Despite having no ships, the Chinese sailors fought on with salvaged guns; *Jingswei* was sunk on 24 October halfway through the removal of her guns. The perseverance of the sailors was rewarded when they sank two Japanese vessels on 30 October.

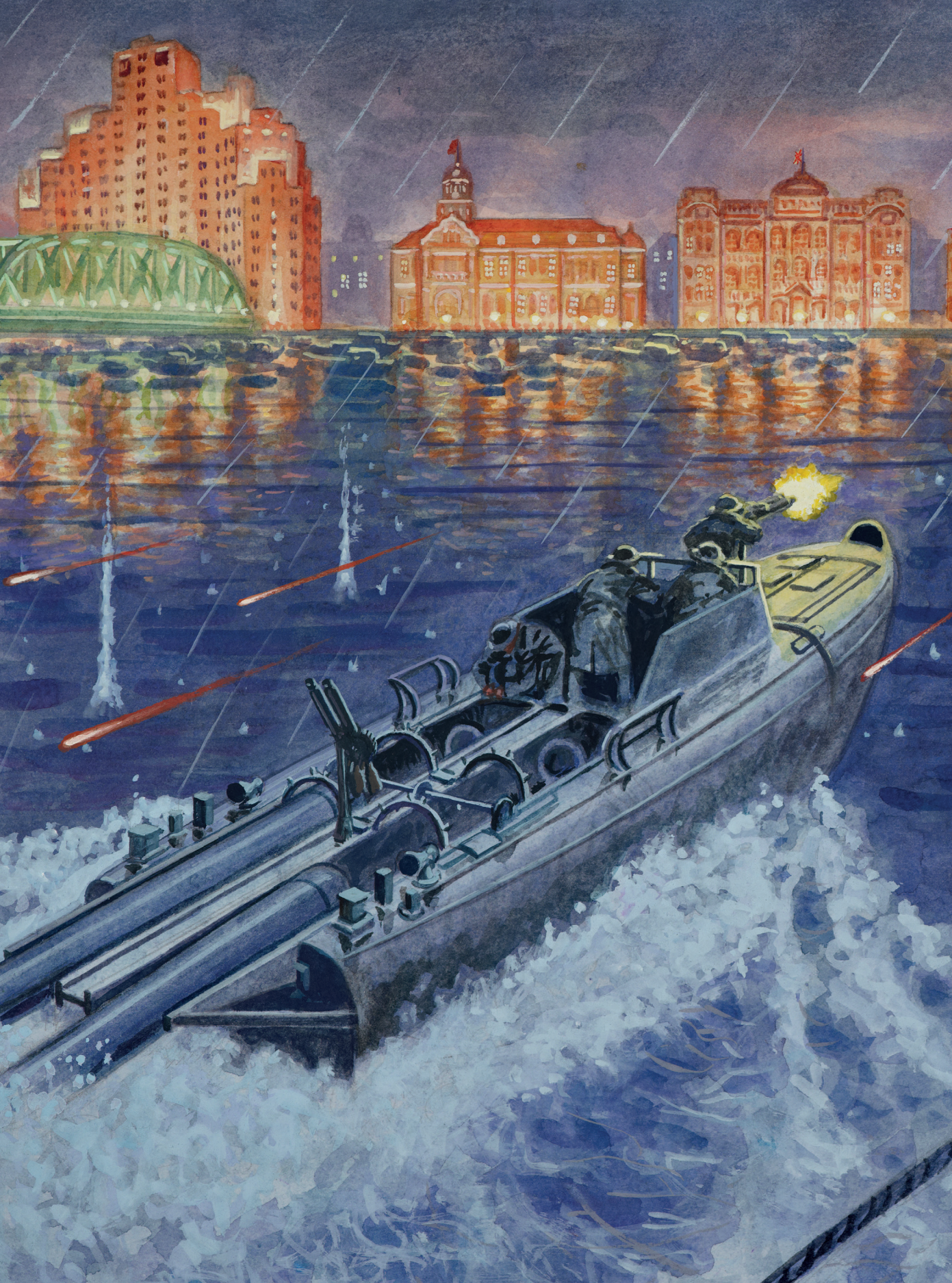
The formation of the CCA was mirrored by the creation of the CAF, with the arrival of the Fourth Fleet to the already formidable in-theatre force comprising the Third Fleet, three Carrier divisions and two Combined Air groups. As the battle moved away from Shanghai towards Nanjing, the IJN riverine force participated in the crossing of the Yangtze and the capture of the Chinese capital. An ad hoc force consisting of the Advanced Guard (HIJMS *Hozu, Toba*, with four Kamikaze-class destroyers), Main Force (HIJMS *Ataka, Hira, Seta*) and Rear Guard (HIJMS *Kotaka, Saga* and Class 2 destroyers HIJMS *Hasu*, *Tsuga* and *Kuri*). This force was spearheaded by minesweepers and a naval demolition team protected by seaplanes from the IJA's *Shinshu Maru* 神州丸.

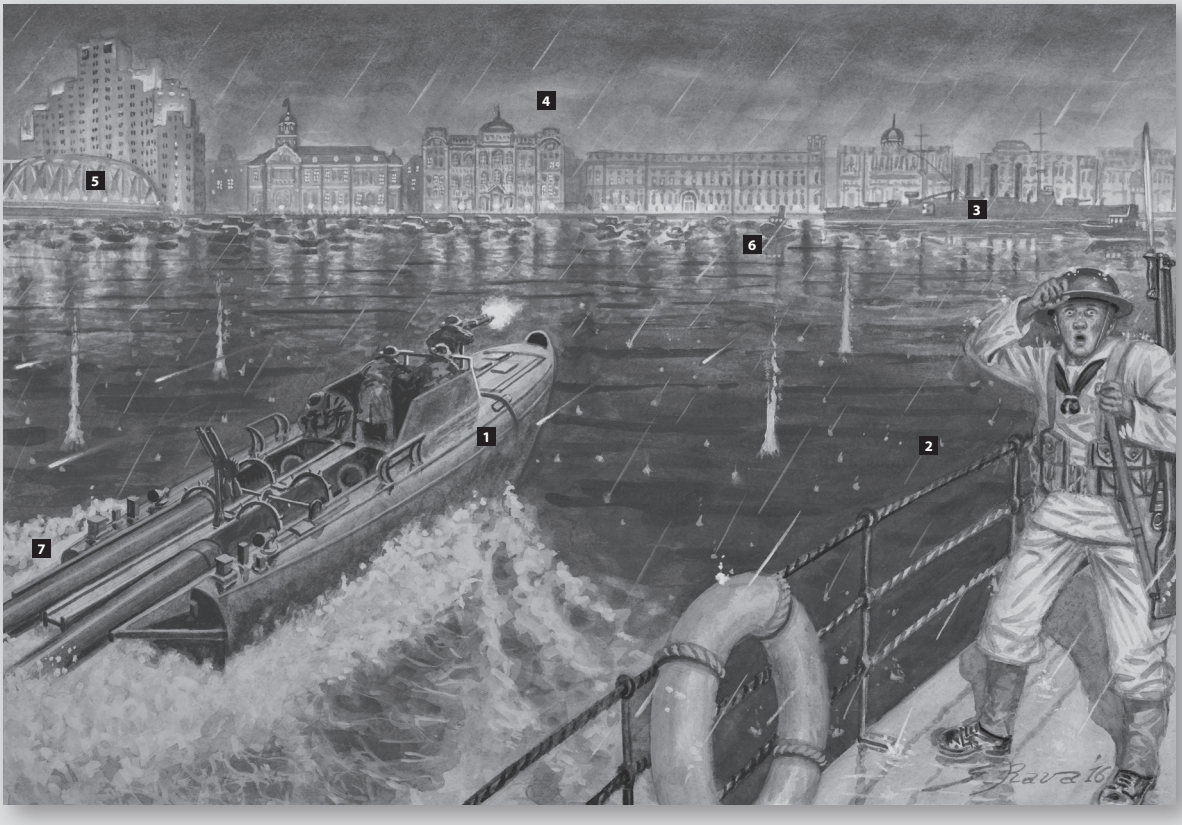




TOP
ROCNS *Ninghai* light cruiser built for the Chinese by Japan. Although packed with more firepower than other warships of the same class, she was top heavy and somewhat unstable.

BOTTOM
The *Ninghai* settled on the riverbed following her sinking. She was later salvaged and re-entered service with the IJN as HIJMS *Ioshima* 五百島. (Shanghai Library)





THE ROCN AT WAR: ATTACK ON THE HIJMS *IDZUMO* (PP. 38–39)

Admiral Chen Shaokuan planned a surprise torpedo attack on the Japanese flagship *Idzumo*, hoping not only to sink her but to also kill Rear Admiral Hasegawa Kiyoshi who was directing operations from the vessel. In charge of the attack was An Qibang 安其邦, second in command of the Torpedo Squadron from the Jiangyin Torpedo Academy. Two 55ft Thornycroft CMB torpedo boats, Shi-171 and *Shi-102*, each armed with two 450mm torpedoes, were selected for the raid.

On the night of 14 August, *Shi-102* under Hu Jingrui 胡敬瑞 and *Shi-171* under Liu Gongdi 刘功棣 – disguised as ordinary motor boats – began their approach to the Huangpu River via the inland waterways, bypassing the heavily watched Yangtze. *Shi-171* suffered an engine failure and *Shi-102* continued alone towards Shanghai, reaching Longhua Pier (near today's Botanical Garden) on the Huangpu on the night of the 15th. The repaired *Shi-171* caught up with *Shi-102*. Both captains, disguised as businessmen, with the help of the army made a recce on the site and developed a plan for attack. Due to the congested waterways, Hu and An decided to attack with one vessel only, choosing the more mechanically reliable *Shi-102*.

On the night of the 16th, *Shi-102* (**1**) made a rapid approach towards the *Idzumo*, weaving in and out between the many warships (**2**) and merchantmen on the river. The *Idzumo* (**3**) was moored some 300m east of the Japanese Consulate (**4**), just east of the Garden Bridge (**5**). The *Idzumo* was protected by a torpedo net and next to her were tugs and river launches (**6**). At a distance of about 300m, *Shi-102* launched her torpedoes at a 50-degree angle. Unusually *Shi-102*'s torpedoes were launched from aft (**7**), dropping the torpedoes from rails on the back of the boat; then, as the CMB made a sharp 180-degree turn, the torpedoes' engines started and sped towards the intended target, making aiming and firing the torpedoes from the CMB rather difficult at the best of times. Both torpedoes missed, hitting the seawall of the Japanese Consulate. Alerted, the crew of the *Idzumo* fired wildly but still managed to cripple the *Shi-102*, the crew later beaching the damaged craft on the banks of the Yangtze. The surviving crew managed to evade capture, and after a Japanese search party had passed them by, they retrieved the guns and ammunition and any useful items from the boat. In revenge for this audacious attack, the IJN blew up the ROCNS *Yongjian* which was trapped in dry-dock.

On 28 September, the ROCN tried again to sink the *Idzumo* after receiving intelligence that an important meeting of generals would be taking place on board. Two commandos were selected to guide three sea mines to the flagship, but while they were negotiating the torpedo nets they were caught in the searchlights. The mines exploded prematurely, and the IJN only suffered damage to a few of its launches and tugs.

The Mitsubishi G3M1 'Nells' of Kanoya Group would be redeployed in early December 1937 to China for raids on inland cities. (Getty Images 78962109)

This force participated in the suppression of Chinese forts, in particular targeting Tuttle Hill's four 152mm howitzers and also assisting Yamada's Detachment in the capture of Black Dragon Hill 乌龙山. Breaking through the mine barrier, HIJMS *Seta* and *Hozu* reached Xiaguan Pier 下关 at about 1530hrs on 13 December, just as the Chinese were clambering to escape Nanjing. The IJN joined in the massacre; no quarter was given to those on the river.

The air war, August–December 1937

While the army fought in the north, war in central China was the IJN's affair. At the start of the war, naval aviation was the only available air capability in Shanghai. Two light carriers, HIJMS *Hosho* (15 aircraft: Nakajima A2N (Type 90) fighters and Mitsubishi B2M (Type 89) torpedo bombers) and *Ryujo* (12 A4N fighters and 15 Aichi D1A1 'Susie' dive-bombers), were dispatched to form the 1st Carrier Division. These ships arrived in Shanghai on 12 August, and both were immediately placed under the Third Fleet; their stay was short, however, and both left in early September. Later, the fleet was boosted by the arrival of the carrier HIJMS *Kaga*, with the SEF contributing an additional 16 B2M and 13 Kugisho B3Y (Type 92) bombers, 14 'Susie' dive-bombers plus 16 Nakajima A2N fighters, forming the 2nd Carrier Division.

The ROCAF initiated the air war on 14 August at 0840hrs when 21 Northrop Gamma 2E bombers commanded by Sun Tonggang 孙桐岗 attacked IJN forces around the Wusong and Kung-Ta textile mill, the main Japanese ordnance depot. Soon after, eight Hawk IIIs from 5th Fighter Group, loaded with 250kg bombs, launched a second attack wave against the IJN, but due to bad weather failed to find their target. The unfortunate 5th Fighter Group was to lose a Hawk piloted by Liang Hongyun 梁鸿云 from the 24th Squadron shot down by Lieutenant Miyata 宫田 flying a Type 90 seaplane, making this the first kill in the Second Sino-Japanese War. In the afternoon, three Hawks made a further attempt on the target, but succeeded only in hitting a busy crossroad. According to the Chinese Air Force advisor

Chinese ace pilot Liu Cuigang 刘粹刚, seen here climbing into the cockpit of his Hawk II trainer. Liu was the Commanding Officer of the 24th Squadron, 5th Fighter Group. On 16 August 1937, he downed a Japanese bomber and damaged a Nakajima E8N ('Dave') reconnaissance seaplane. (IWM)

Claire Chennault (later famous as the commander of the 'Flying Tigers', the 1st American Volunteer Group of the CAF in 1941–42), the Chinese were taught to bomb at 7,500ft, but thick clouds and typhoon rain forced the planes to attack at 1,500ft; the inexperienced pilots failed to adjust their sights, resulting in the crossroads disaster. Later, three Chance-Vought V92C Corsairs from the 35th Provisional Squadron attacked the textile mill again, followed by another wave of Hawks, but despite the bravery of the pilots, their inexperience and poor ground–air communication meant that none of these ground support missions had much of an impact.

On the 14th, the typhoon kept the carrier planes grounded, so the IJN dispatched their land-based aircraft. The 1st Rengo (Combined) Group from Taiwan and Japan, consisting of the Kanoya 鹿屋 and Kizarazu 木更津 groups and comprising 38 'Nell' bombers (B3M1 and B3M2) and 14 Nakajima A4N fighters, initiated the world's first transoceanic bombing operation, a round trip of 800 miles. The targets of the 1st Combined Group were Nanjing, Guangde 广德, Qiaosi Airfield 乔司, and the Central Aviation Academy at Jianqiao Aerodrome筧桥. Under flight leader Lieutenant-Commander Shinichi Nitta 新田慎一nine of the Mitsubishi B3M1 'Nells' targetted Jianqiao, flying without escorts; the IJN were confident that the higher maximum speed of the Nells (375km/h) would easily outrun the Chinese Hawk IIIs (362km/h) but poor weather on that day gave the Chinese the chance to equal the odds with the Kanoya Group, which lost four Nells (the Chinese claimed to have downed six, but Japanese records show the other two were lost to accidents on landing, probably due to combat damaged sustained). On the 15th, the Kizarazu Group in their improved Mitsubishi B3M2 Nells flew an amazing 1,150-mile round trip from Japan to Shanghai and Nanjing. Losses were heavy on both days and the Japanese press were censored in what they could report, focussing on the then world record 'long distance attack', rather than the losses. By the 16th, the 1st Combined Group had been virtually wiped out. The Kanoya Group had lost 12 of their 18 Nells and five crewmen; as a result, the commanding officer, Commander Ishii Shizue 石井藝江, committed seppuku (ritual suicide). Lieutenant-Commander Shinichi Nitta was also killed. The Kizarazu Group lost four crewmen and 12 of their 20 B3M2 Nells. Long-distance bombing continued for another three weeks, and heavy losses were encountered; 54 were lost over Nanjing alone. Inadequate weaponry and unprotected fuel tanks that exploded when hit were identified as the main causes. The long-distance unescorted bombing raids were soon halted, whilst awaiting the delivery of the Mitsubishi A5M 'Claude' Type 96 fighter. The Nell bombers from Taiwan were soon moved to Shanghai when captured Chinese airfields were available.

On 14 August 1937, Lieutenant-Colonel Kao Zhihang 高志航, commanding the 4th Fighter Group, shot down a Nell from Shinichi's flight, damaging another. Top ace Liu Chesheng 柳哲生 also opened his score on the same day, flying a Hawk III fighter, together with Captain Li Kweita 李桂丹. Lieutenant Wang Wenhua 王文骅 succeeded in downing a Nell bomber

A Kugisho B3Y, or Navy Type 92 Carrier Attack Bomber, from HIJMS *Kaga*. (IWM)

piloted by Petty Officer 1st Class Mitsui Yanase 三井柳瀬 from the Kanoya Group. Liu Chesheng was further credited with downing a Mitsubishi B2M bomber from HIJMS *Kaga* the next day. Arthur Chin 陈瑞钿, a Chinese-American from Oregon, got his first kill on the 16th, downing a Nell. Chin was to end the war with 8.5 kills, making him the second-highest scoring ace in the ROCAF behind Liu Chesheng's 10⅝ victories. Arthur would become America's first World War II-era ace, but his achievements would not be recognized with the award of a DFC until 1995.

Despite fighting valiantly, the ROCAF were no match for the Japanese. The kill-ratio was always in favour of the Japanese. By 14 October 1937, the Japanese admitted to having lost 39 planes in combat, but claimed to have destroyed (a highly exaggerated) 321 Chinese planes. With the switching of the attacks to Nanjing, the ROCAF was forced to withdraw its fighters to protect the capital, thus creating a vacuum over the Shanghai front, allowing the Japanese to enjoy total air superiority. Without harassment by the ROCAF, the IJN was able to enjoy open skies when aiming at targets, and it was the combined advantages of an uncontested airspace and naval fire support that caused the collapse of the Chinese army.

By 20 November, Soviet aid eventually arrived in China under Operation *Z*, after the signing of the Sino-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact. For the first time, Soviet volunteers were deployed against the Japanese, who were by then closing in fast on Nanjing. The Soviet Volunteer Group (SVG) played a key part in the defence of China between 1937 and 1941 (see Osprey Aircraft of the Aces 95: *Polikarpov I-15, I-16 and I-153 Aces*). As soon as the Soviet pilots arrived, they were pushed into battle. An attack by the 2nd Combined Group on Nanjing on the 21st was intercepted by the Kurdyumov Group flying Polikarpov I-16 fighters; the Soviets claimed a Nell and two Claudes. The air war intensified during December 1937 as the Japanese closed in on Nanjing. The Soviets launched five interceptions, and claimed ten bombers and four fighters shot down. In return, the Japanese shot down two I-16s, but

The first SVG pilot to see action around Nanjing on 22 November 1937 was G.M. Prokofiev. His I-16 shot down PO3 Miyazaki Koji's Mitsubishi A5M Type 96 naval fighter. (Nanjing Massacre Museum)

both Soviet pilots were able to parachute to safety, and flew again. Not content to merely defend, the SVG also went on the offensive several times. Nine Soviet Tupolev SB bombers, led by Major-General Machin, attacked the Japanese airfield at Kung-Ta, formerly the Japanese Golf Club and part of the property of the Kung-Ta Mill. Machin claimed a dozen planes destroyed on the ground and a further two damaged in the air, as well as an auxiliary cruiser and six other vessels sunk.

With the fall of Nanjing imminent, the Japanese switched their attention to deeper positions as well as attacking river traffic. One of the consequences of the latter was the 12 December 1937 USS *Panay* Incident, when a Japanese attack on the American gunboat USS *Panay* while anchored in the Yangtze resulted in 4 dead and 43 wounded; the American survivors were taken aboard HMS *Ladybird*, which was also fired on that day. Tit-for-tat raids continued after the fall of Nanjing. The ROCAF suffered heavily throughout the campaign: of the 172 operational aircraft at the beginning of August 1937, by 11 November, only 31 were still operational.

THE CHINESE VERDUN

To handle the enlarged campaign, Chiang created the Third War Zone and placed Feng Yuxiang (the 'Christian general') in charge with Deputy War Minister Chen Cheng as field commander. General Zhang Zhizhong was thus under Chen; Zhang was not pleased with this outcome, and became embroiled in another argument that contributed to his sacking. On 23 August, the first of the large reinforcements arrived from Japan having set off on the 18th from Nagoya and Tadotsu. At the head of the SEF was General Matsui Iwane. Matsui's plan was to land one force on the north-east coast at Chuansha town 川沙镇 some 50km from central Shanghai, with another at Wusong 吴淞 township. The 11th Division was to move south-west to Luodian then to Jiading 嘉定, some 8km due west; the 3rd Division was to head for Dachang town. The landings took place at 0500hrs, and were met with minimal resistance; the depleted 11th Division (with only one brigade) split its forces, with 44th Infantry Regiment proceeding to Luodian

1. 23 August, dawn: General Matsui's SEF lands. Lieutenant-Colonel Asama's 43rd Regiment captures Lion's Wood Fort on 1 September. Lieutenant-Colonel Takaji's 44th Regiment captures Luodian.

2. Fujita's 3rd Division meets heavy resistance on the south bank at Wusong, but manages to capture Baoshan.

3. Ye's Chinese 33rd Brigade and 16th Artillery Regiment is ordered to retake Luodian. The attack by Hu's 66th Regiment forces the Japanese out.

3a. Cai's Chinese 201st Brigade reinforces Luodian, as Ye's 33rd Brigade attacks towards the coast, until forced back. Luodian is retaken by the Japanese 44th Regiment, then partially recaptured by the Chinese on 28 August and rapidly reinforced by Huo's 14th Division and the 151st (Zhou) and 153rd (Li) brigades.

4. 24 August: Xia's Chinese 98th Division prepares to recapture Wusong. Xiang's 588th Regiment retakes Baoshan Town. Jiang's 583rd Regiment recaptures Lion's Wood Fort by noon, 25 August.

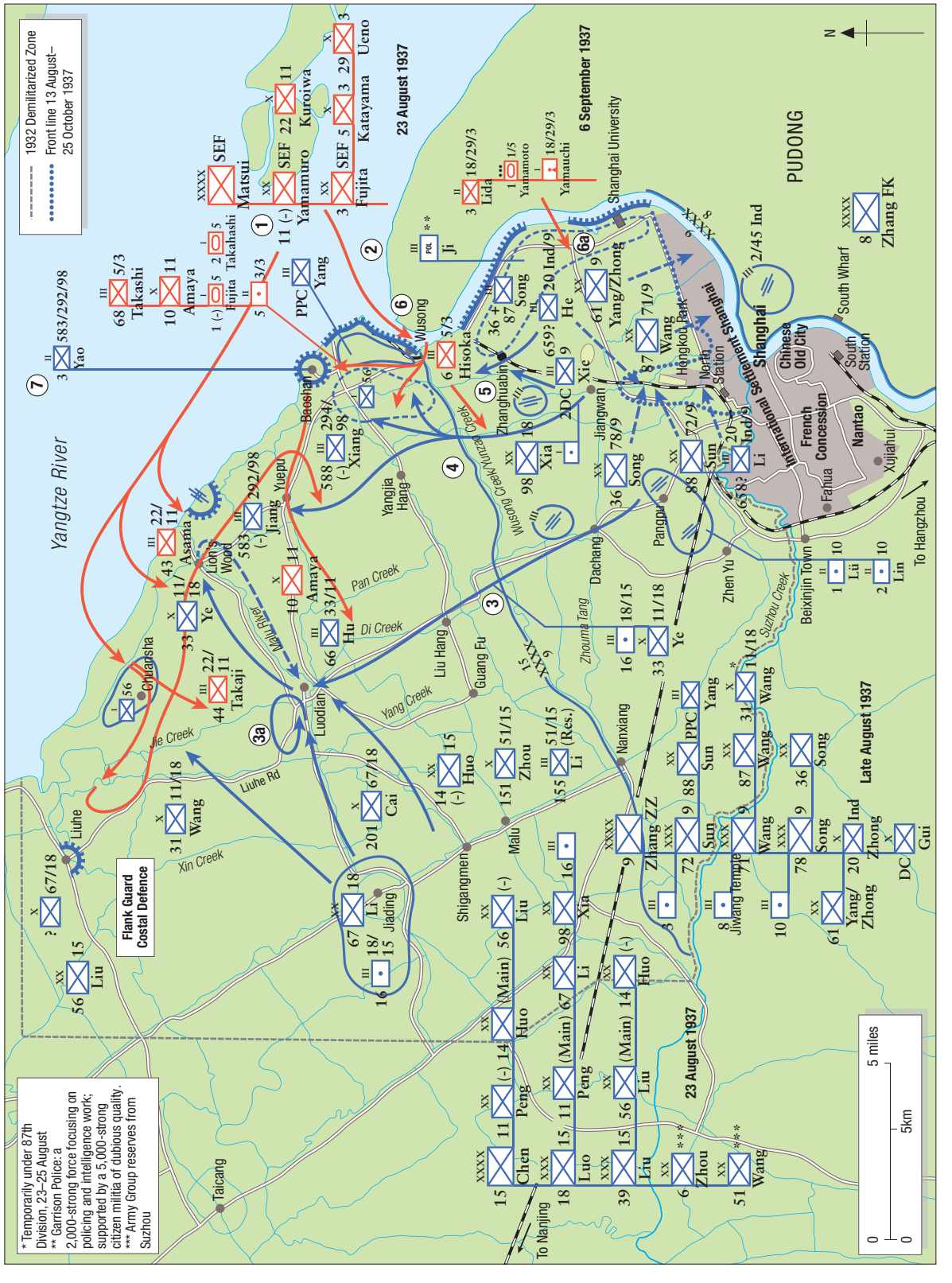
5. Zhang Zhizhong orders the recapture of Zhanghuabin, a vital rail junction. Unable to dislodge Hisoka's Japanese 6th Regiment, on 24 August Zhang orders Song to attack Wusong with volunteers from the 36th and 87th divisions; however, heavy naval gunfire forces Song's force to withdraw.

6. 31 August: the Japanese landings intensify. Takashi's 68th Regiment retakes Wusong from two depleted Chinese regiments.

6a. 6 September: the Japanese Lida Detachment, supported by tanks and artillery, lands on the west bank of the Huangpu River. Lida is killed, but his battalion clears the Ta-Kung Golf Club to create a first airbase.

7. 6 September: Takashi's Japanese 68th Regiment, supported by Amaya's detachment, two squadrons of tanks and a battalion of divisional artillery, takes Baoshan town from Lieutenant-Colonel Yao's 3rd Battalion, 583rd Regiment, which is wiped out save for a sole survivor.

Anti-landing actions, 23 August–early September 1937.



Japanese infantry moving through the devastated buildings in northern Shanghai. Pictures of Japanese infantrymen wearing gas masks are not uncommon, although little concrete evidence exists of the IJA using poison gas. (Getty Images 548795297)

while a detachment of the 43rd Infantry Regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Asama Yoshino 浅間吉野 first headed north before heading south to support operations at Wusong, capturing Shizhilin 狮子林 (Lion's Wood) Fort on the way.

The 3rd Division experienced a difficult landing at Wusong; the terrain favoured the defenders, but the lethargic leadership of divisional commander Fujita Susumu also played a part. Under heavy naval bombardment, the combined IJNSLF and IJA force landed on the south bank of the Yunzao Creek 蕴藻滨 just 2km along the railway pier attacking Zhang's 9th Army Group. A separate force – the Amaya Detachment (10th Infantry Brigade) – landed on the opposite bank of the creek, moving north to Baoshan County. Inside Baoshan County were two companies from the Chinese 56th Division (9th Army Group), who were unable to contain the overwhelming Japanese force and were forced to withdraw outside the town. The Chinese were caught on the hop in their attempts to defend against the sudden landing; Zhang had to redeploy his troops from urban fighting. The weak and limited forces of the 56th Division and the PPC in the suburbs of Baoshan were soon rolled back.

While the Japanese were piling in reinforcements, Chiang reciprocated by bringing in the newly created 15th Army Group, consisting of the I, XVIII and LXXIV Corps and under the command of Chen Cheng, to the area. The battle had now switched its focus from Zhang's urbanized conflict to Chen's anti-landing operations to the north. Chen's attack was spearheaded by XVIII Corps under the command of Luo Zhuoying. Advancing along two axes, the 98th Division was to attack north-east through Liuhang village 刘行 to Shizhilin with support of one battery of artillery, while the 11th Division was to attack towards Yuepu town 月浦镇 and then move north along the coast to Shidongkou 石洞口; the 56th Division, along with one brigade from 67th Division, was to remain in the Liuhel 浏河 area to protect the northern flank. A third force, XXXIX Corps, would head north to the Liuhe town area, and a reserve force consisting of two divisions – the 6th and 51st – would wait near Suzhou 苏州. Despite their heroic endeavours, any daytime movements were virtually suicidal as the Japanese had the Chinese under close watch with spotter planes as well as observation balloons. Naval bombardment and close air support took a heavy toll on Chen's army.

At first, the Japanese hold on the landing zones was not strong. The Chinese were able to recapture Wusong, Baoshan and Luodian, but as in many places, these victories were fleeting and under severe bombardment these gains were soon lost. Casualties were high; entire regiments were reduced to just a few men; of all the troops in the 3rd Battalion of the 583rd Regiment, 98th Division defending Baoshan, for example, only one, Private 2nd Class Wei Jianchen 魏建臣, survived. Often the hastily constructed defensive works offered little protection, and the sandy soil of the region, the lack of wood available for construction and the high water table meant that it was difficult to construct sturdy fortifications; many collapsed due to the rain. The Chinese fought bravely. It was common for the Japanese to successfully occupy the towns in the day, only to lose them during the night. Such attacks and counterattacks continued well into mid-September.

With the failure to block the landings and the loss of the coastal towns, in the second phase, the plan was to contain the Japanese and prevent further advances. The key to this was Luodian and Dachang. Luodian was important because it was a transport hub to the west. Dachang, located just north of Shanghai, was the northern gateway to the city, and its loss would allow the Japanese to dominate and isolate Shanghai and trap the Chinese army. The importance of Luodian was part of von Falkenhausen's strategy for Chiang; it needed to be held at all costs. Luodian actually fell to the Japanese on the first day of the landings, but the lightly held town was soon recaptured by a massive counterattack by the Chinese 33rd Brigade from the 11th Division. While the anti-landing battle was occurring, the battle for control of Luodian was already raging with increasing intensity. After retaking Luodian, the Chinese 401st Regiment, a depleted force of only two battalions from the 67th Division, was tasked with defending it, but after four days and nights of continuous battle it was recaptured by the Japanese from the 11th Division supported by tanks and artillery. Without long-range anti-tank weapons, the only way for the Chinese to defeat the tanks was to mount close-quarter ambushes, with mines and satchel charges. The Japanese were forced to take heavy casualties engaging in hand-to-hand fighting with the Chinese, who were equal to, if not superior to, the Japanese in this aspect, often forcing the Japanese to withdraw leaving scores of dead and burning tanks. But on the 28th, after intense naval bombardment, the Japanese stormed Luodian. Unable to withstand the heavy bombardment, the Chinese fled, but not for long. Having lost the town, the Chinese 67th Division tried to retake it as a matter of honour, but this time the Chinese failed with heavy losses. The battle of Luodian went on for more than a month, the town changing hands more than six times, sometimes each side holding on to it for only part of a day before it was recaptured.

Chiang's strategy against Japan was to use international pressure to force the Japanese out, knowing that the Chinese were too weak to overcome them militarily. The Chinese sent several deputations to the League of Nations and eventually managed to get the league to issue a unanimous condemnation. However, without any concrete follow-on action from the international community, Japan just carried on as if nothing had happened.

Despite the loss of Luodian and the high number of casualties, the Chinese had gained the admiration of the international community. Reuters called the actions of the Chinese army 'magnificent', while Edgar Snow stated

By mid-October, Japanese forces comprised five infantry divisions and a brigade-sized detachment.

1a. The 3rd (Fujita), 9th (Yoshizumi) and 11th (Yamamuro) were regular divisions. The 9th landed on 27 September and 16th on 1 October. All of these, except the 11th Division, landed at Wusong, which had excellent port facilities. (The 16th Division would land on 12/13 November.)

1b. The 13th (Ogisu) was a newly formed reserve division. It performed rear-area duties until 17 October, when front-line losses became too large and its troops were brought into action.

1c. The 101st (Ito) was another newly formed reserve division. It landed on 22 September, then advanced on the left of the 3rd Division.

1d. Shigeto's Detachment comprised native troops from Taiwan, and guarded the Japanese northern flank.

2. The Ta-Kung Golf Club became the first airbase on 8 September after Chinese forces were cleared by Lida's Detachment. Other forward airbases were created as the fighting moved west, including Longhua and Hongqiao.

3. After the defeat at Dachang, Lui's 21st Army retreated to Suzhou Creek west of the International Settlement and into the area east of Nanxiang town.

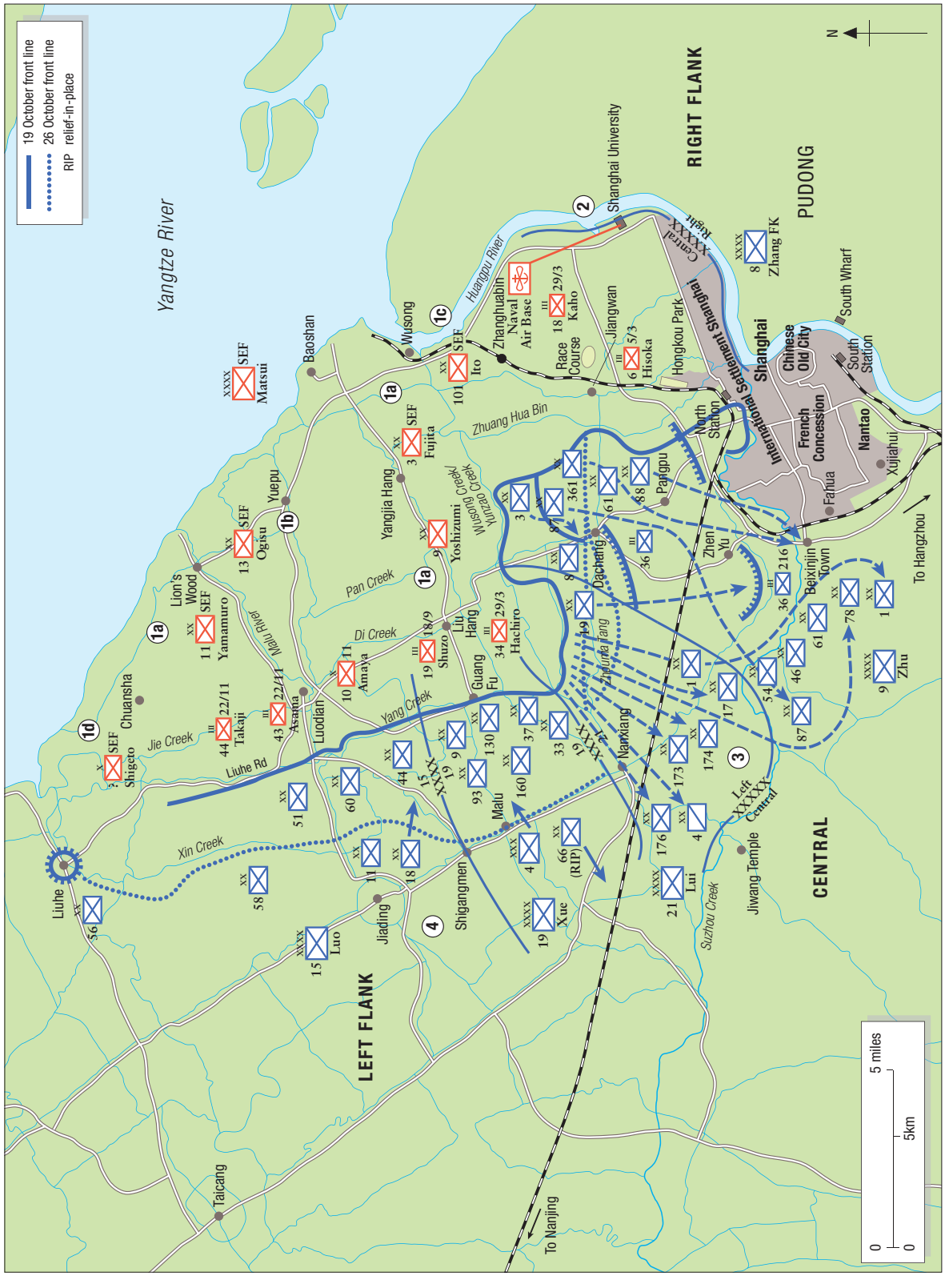
4. Chinese forces launched a series of frontal attacks on the Left Flank from their trenches, mostly without artillery support, which failed to displace the IJA. Poor planning and loss of air superiority were compounding factors.

that the Chinese demonstrated an 'absence of nerves'. In one way, Chiang had succeeded in changing the opinion of the West – at least at this point, international public opinion was decidedly pro-Chinese.

Losses on both sides were heavy; on 9 September, the Japanese SEF had suffered 1,205 dead and 2,875 wounded. To make good these losses and to deliver a knockout blow to the Chinese, between 5 September and 1 October, the Japanese rushed in four waves of reinforcements. First came the Amaya Detachment 天谷支队 from northern China, then from Taiwan came the Shigeto Detachment 重藤支队; both were brigade-sized forces, and they landed on 2 and 14 September respectively. These were followed by the 9th Division commanded by Lieutenant-General Yoshizumi Ryosuke, and the 13th Division, boosting the overall Japanese contingent to 120,000 troops with some 300 guns, 200-plus tanks and more than 200 planes. The Chinese were piling in troops as fast as they could be moved to the area. At the outbreak of hostilities, Zhang had some 30,000 troops, but by the end of September, the Chinese had 400,000, including the 15th, 16th, 32nd, 77th and 159th divisions and 66th Demonstration Corps. With this increase in force, on 21 September, Chiang reorganized his forces, himself replacing Feng Yuxiang as the commander of the Third War Zone. The army was split into Left and Right sectors; the Left Sector was commanded by Chen Cheng, and under him was the 9th Army Group led by Zhang Zhizhong, the 15th Army Group led by Chen Cheng and 19th Army Group led by Xue Yue. In the Right Sector were the 8th and 10th Army groups, commanded by generals Zhang Fakui and Liu Jianxu respectively.

However, before the ink was even dry on these orders, Chiang changed his mind and split his forces into three sectors instead of two. The new Left Sector (under Chen Cheng) comprised the 15th and 19th Army groups, and was positioned in the north. After the loss of Luodian, Chen's forces had withdrawn to a dog-leg line that stretched west of Luodian to Yanghang 杨行 and then to Yunzao Creek. The new Central Sector (under Zhu Shaoliang) comprised the 9th Army Group with the 18th Division, with Zhu replacing Zhang Zhizhong as commander of the 9th Army Group. The Central Sector held a position from Yunzao Creek at its northern boundary that curved right towards Yinhang, just north of what is today the Pentagon/Wujiaochang 五角场 shopping area. The southern boundary of the Central Sector remained largely where the failed attack by the 36th and 78th divisions ended in August. The new Right Sector (under the command of Zhang Fakui) comprised the 8th and 10th Army groups. These weak forces covered a vast area that included Pudong, the northern banks of Hangzhou Bay/southern Shanghai, and the southern banks of Hangzhou Bay.

Dachang and the Chinese collapse, mid- to late October 1937.



Japanese infantrymen hauling a Type 41 mountain gun at the heavily contested Shanghai North Railway Station, where the elite 'Germanized' Chinese troops were once based. (Getty Images 79666179)

During late September, the lines stabilized, and from their dug-in positions the Chinese fought a defensive battle, in which they excelled. Despite the Chinese having superiority in numbers with the addition of the 15th, 32nd, 57th and 77th divisions along with IV and LXVI Corps, by using their superior firepower, the Japanese were still able to make some advances, albeit at a high cost. Some of the Japanese losses were of their own making; the Shigeto Detachment, having landed full of gusto, were to lose 200 men in a single skirmish for little gain – they did receive a scolding from Matsui for their pains. On the 25th, in order to tighten the defensive line, and to eliminate the dangerous dog's leg, Chen ordered a tactical withdrawal and withdrew 2km to the rear. The withdrawal was done in perfect order, and it was another two days before the Japanese realized what had happened.

With the additional forces in place, Matsui felt that he could now take to the offensive and drive the Chinese from Shanghai by a giant right hook. His aim was to switch the axis of advance from west to south, pushing his forces across Wusong Creek 吴淞河[13] and eventually to Suzhou Creek, the northern boundary of the International Settlement. Matsui gave his order on 29 September with Dachang as the main objective. He placed the 9th Division on the right, the 3rd in the centre and the 101st to the left, with the 11th Division as the rear guard and holding the northern flank against an attack from the west. The 13th Division was held in reserve. The attack began on 1 October, but with the two armies still engaging in see-saw battles, the positions changed hands five times on this day. On 17 October, the 'Gui' (Guangxi Province in South-West China) clique 21st Army Group (consisting of two corps, containing the 171st, 173rd, 174th and 176th divisions, under Central Sector command and deployed around Zoumatang Creek 走马塘河) under General Li Zongren 李宗仁, finally arrived. The 'Gui' troops were easily distinguished from the 'German' Central Army by their British-style helmets. With this additional force, Chiang staged a final counteroffensive, based on a plan crafted by Bai Chongxi, his military advisor. However, like the many other orchestrated offensives, this one was

13 The eastern part of Suzhou Creek is more commonly known as Wusong Creek.

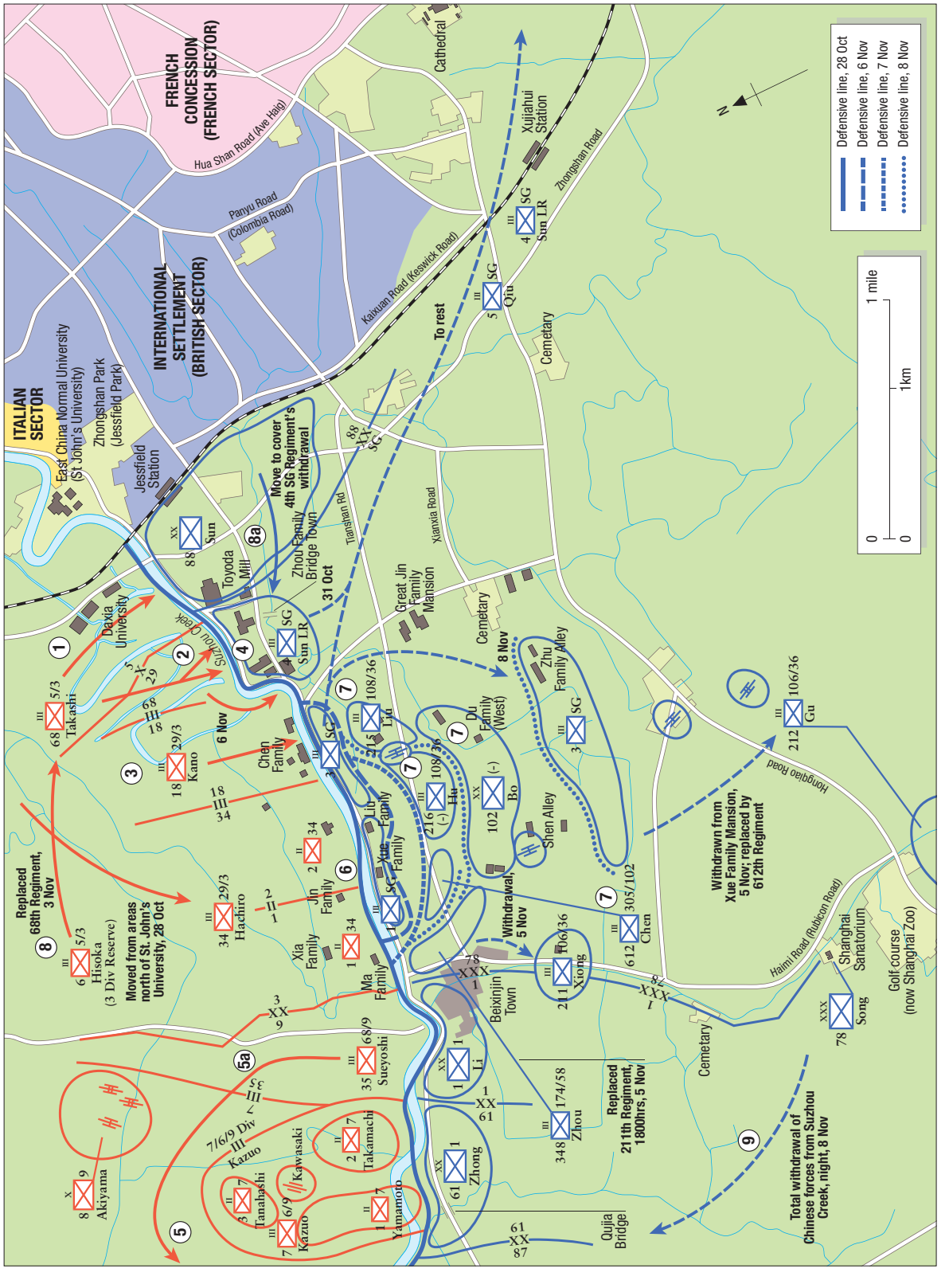
also marred by poor planning and coordination, which limited its chances of success even before the start of the battle. The lack of staff officers was one reason why. Often little or no information was available on the enemy, because little or no reconnaissance had been carried out; poor logistics meant there were insufficient river-crossing capabilities; knowing that many creeks were in the area, the German advisors were constantly perplexed by the Chinese decision to rush troops into battle without adequate battle preparation. Combined with poor preparation and the superior firepower of the Japanese (700 artillery guns and 150 bombers were committed to the Dachang operation), these factors led to Chinese losses of men that exceeded even the worst battles of World War I. On the 21st, the 'Gui' 21st Army Group attacked north with the 176th Division on the left and the 174th on the right, just south of the Wusong Creek. The 173rd was almost destroyed even before it arrived at the start-line by artillery and air strikes, so played little part in the main attack. While the 21st Army Group attacked north, on the same day the Chinese mounted another counterattack from the west with Guangfu 广福 as the centre of axis of attack. Five divisions (the 31st, 44th, 56th, 60th and 98th) were committed. The Japanese were taken aback and lost over 1,000 men during the first night. However, they soon regained their footing and launched a counterattack that halted the Chinese advance. Over the 25 days of battle, Chinese casualties averaged 5,000 a day. In ten days, the 8th Division lost 92 per cent of its force, the SG Division was nearly wiped out, while other divisions were reduced to regiments, and regiments became companies. The shame of seeing the total decimation of their units caused some of the Chinese leaders to commit suicide, among them Zhu Yaohua 朱耀华, the commander of the 18th Division. This fierce fighting continued until 25 October, when Dachang finally fell. By then, Chinese troops had no option but to withdraw from Shanghai.

THE CROSSING OF SUZHOU CREEK

On the night of 26 October, Chen Cheng ordered the immediate withdrawal of the Central and Left sector forces to the south at Suzhou Creek and to the West of Nanxiang 南翔, and not the Kunzi 昆支线 Sujia lines 苏嘉[14] as per the German plan. However, rear-echelon troops were already moving across Suzhou Creek on the 24th, crossing via Zhongshan and Jessfield Railway Bridge (today just west of Zhongshan Park 中山公园 where Kaixuan Road crosses Suzhou Creek) just beyond the western border of the International Settlement. By 27 October, the Japanese found that the Chinese positions were empty. The IJA missed a good chance to decimate the Chinese, allowing them to cross the Suzhou Creek and halting their advance in line with their battle plans – instead of pursuing the Chinese and closing the net round them. 'The only explanation for this was a lack of independent thinking by junior officers,' the German military advisor to Chiang's army Major Robert Borchardt (1912–85) wrote in his diary. Chiang wanted the international community to see a particular view of the war by spinning public opinion

14 The Kunzi Line was in the area of Kunshan City, Jiangsu Province. The Sujia Line stretched from Suzhou to Jiaxing City, Jiangsu Province. These two were regarded as the first lines of defence west of Shanghai.

The crossing of Suzhou Creek, 28 October–8 November 1937.



1. The Japanese 3rd Division (Lieutenant-General Fujita Susumu) and 9th Division (Lieutenant-General Yoshizumi Ryosuke) were massing just west of the International Settlement. Takashi's 68th Regiment was on the Japanese far left, Kano's 18th Regiment occupied the centre left, while Hachiro's 34th Regiment was stationed in the centre right (all of these from 3rd Division); on the right flank, 9th Division's units comprised Sueyoshi's 35th Regiment and Kazuo's 7th Regiment. The first probing attack started on the 28th, directed at the Chinese 88th Division on the Japanese left flank.

2. The next morning (29th), the first concentrated Japanese attack commenced, supported by tanks and artillery. Underestimating the obstacle the Suzhou Creek presented (at 50m wide, with a 2m tidal drop, a strong current, and not to mention a 2m-plus river wall to scale), the attack failed with heavy losses.

3. The next day (30th), as the IJA's 3rd Division was about to across the creek, Chinese counterbattery fire managed to hit the acid factory on the north bank, creating a cloud of noxious smoke that hindered the preparations of the IJA's 34th Regiment. To suppress the heavy Chinese machine-gun fire, the Japanese placed their Type 41 75mm mountain and Type 94 37mm RF guns right up against the riverbank.

4. The Japanese 3rd Division concentrated its artillery (8 x 120mm, 24 x 150mm, 12 x 105mm and 24 x 75mm guns) against the Chinese SG Regiment at Zhou Family Bridge Town. In addition, air attacks by the 2nd Combined Group targeted the Chinese positions further to the rear. Under cover of heavy smoke, the Japanese 34th Regiment's two battalions attacked. The 1st Battalion's crossing (on the regiment's right) initially went well, but the change of wind blew the smoke back to the Japanese side, exposing the troops that were stranded in the creek. On the regiment's left, the 2nd Battalion's pontoon bridge was rammed by a Chinese fireboat, and collapsed. The day ended with the Japanese having gained a small toehold on the south bank of the Suzhou, albeit achieved with heavy casualties.

5. On 1 November, the Japanese 9th Division attacked across the creek in the wake of a massive artillery bombardment that included shelling by 4 x 204mm siege guns. After three hours, the 19th and 36th regiments, who were on the right of Kazuo's 7th Regiment, managed to gain footholds on the south bank (to the west of 7th Regiment, not shown on this map).

5a. Seeing the success on his right by the 19th and 36th regiments, on 3 November 9th Division commander Lieutenant-General Yoshizumi Ryosuke transferred the 35th Regiment to the Japanese right flank. By 6 November, 9th Division's three engaged regiments, the 19th, 35th and 36th, were moving along the creek reaching Qujia Bridge, with Kazuo's 7th Regiment still holding on the northern bank.

6. Having placed its guns (4 x 105mm, 8 x 75mm) right up along the creek front and shooting at a range of 100m over open sights, the 34th Regiment made a breakthrough at the Xue Family Mansion, as the Chinese 212nd Regiment (which had only just relieved SG's 1st Regiment in the morning of 2 November) collapsed.

7. On 5 November, the Chinese counterattacked with two companies from Liu's 215th and Chen's 612th regiments, but this failed to dislodge the Japanese. Next came attacks by Hu's 216th and Zhou's 348th regiments, and throughout the night Bo's 102nd Division (less 607th Regiment) battled on.

8. Having failed to cross the Suzhou Creek, on 3 November Takashi's 68th Regiment was withdrawn to become the divisional reserve and replaced by Hisoka's 6th Regiment. Having been subjected to heavy bombardment, Liu's Chinese 215th Regiment was replaced by Sun's 88th Division, which was already covering the former positions of 4th Regiment, SG.

8a. On the evening of 8 November, a general Chinese withdrawal was initiated after the Japanese landings in Hangzhou Bay. In 13 days, the Japanese 9th Division sustained 2,804 casualties, of which 749 were from 36th Regiment and 840 from 35th Regiment.

against the Japanese ahead of the Nine Powers meeting in Brussels.[15] The 32-year-old Lieutenant-Colonel Xie Jinyuan (initially a staff officer from the elite 88th Division) was ordered to lead a stay-behind battalion of the 524th Regiment to defend the Joint Trust (or Sihang – literally 'Four Banks') Warehouse, a six-storey concrete structure just north of the Suzhou Creek. Xie's act would serve as a show of defiance and the men of the battalion would enter Chinese military folklore as the '800 Braves'.

The 800 Braves: the battle of the Joint Trust (Sihang) Warehouse

At 2200hrs on 26 October, the 1st Battalion, 524th Regiment, while defending Shanghai North Railway Station, received orders to withdraw to the Sihang Warehouse. The latter was being used as the divisional headquarters of the 88th Division prior to the battle, and was stocked with food, first-aid equipment and ammunition, making it an ideal fortress. As a sign of the Chinese determination to fight to the death, Xie ordered the building to be rigged with explosives in case the Japanese occupied it. The 524th Regiment had only 453 men available, but propagandists made this out to be nearer 800-strong, thus creating a legend of 'the 800 Braves'. The composition of the 1st Battalion was as follows:

Executive Officer/Adjutant	Major Shangguan Zhibiao 上官志标
1st Battalion, 524th Regiment	Major Yang Ruifu 杨瑞符
1st Company	Captain Tao Xingchun 陶杏春
2nd Company	Captain Deng Ying 邓英

15 The Nine Powers had signed a 1922 treaty affirming China's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The nine powers were the USA, Belgium, Britain, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal.

3rd Company	Captain Shi Meihao 石美豪 (wounded, replaced by Captain Tang Di 唐棣)
Machine-gun Company	Captain Lei Xiong 雷雄

The 1st Company was on the right facing the Tibet Road covering the eastern side of the warehouse, the 3rd Company took up positions on the left across from the Bank of Communications, and the 2nd Company was positioned on the remaining sides. Two Type 24 Maxim HMGs were emplaced on the roof of the warehouse. The main Japanese attack came from the west just after lunch on the 27th; a Chinese reconnaissance platoon exchanged fire with around 50 Japanese soldiers. Despite four days and nights of fighting, the Japanese 3rd Division failed to penetrate the warehouse; part of the reason for this failure was a ban on using heavy artillery and aerial bombing for fear of collateral damage in the International Settlement.

On the night of the 28th, a 14-year-old Girl Guide called Yang Huimin 杨慧敏 famously swam across the Suzhou Creek in the heat of battle to deliver a large Chinese national flag, which was promptly hoisted up on the roof. The huge flag succeeded in rallying not only the Chinese but also foreigners. Crowds soon gathered, cheering on the Chinese defenders; some even held up signs and placards to warn the men of the lone battalion of impending Japanese attacks, and what the Japanese were up to. Some brought supplies and soon it became a media scramble for the best ringside seat. Suddenly, the war in Shanghai became global headline news. The SMC grew increasingly concerned about collateral damage to the concession; several British servicemen had already been killed, among them Private McGowan of the 1st Battalion, Royal Ulster Rifles, who was machine-gunned by a Japanese aeroplane. Soon a 'petition' was submitted to the Chinese to leave. With the objectives achieved, on 31 October, Chiang gave orders to withdraw from the warehouse. Matsui at first agreed to the evacuation of the building, but later reneged on the deal. Using the cover of darkness, on 1 November, Xie Jinyuan led 376 men to the Settlement; ten of the Chinese defenders had been killed, and another 27 were too badly wounded to be moved, and a further ten were wounded during the crossing. Once in the International Settlement, the SVC seized all their weapons and placed the soldiers under arrest, for the Japanese had threatened to invade the Settlement if the soldiers were allowed to leave the area. They were herded into the Italian area as POWs. By comparison, the French treated the Chinese much more leniently; at the end of the battle for Shanghai, some 5,000 Chinese troops escaped into the French Concession, and, unlike the SVC, they were not detained but were let go.

Despite languishing as POWs, Xie and the '800 Braves' were worshipped as heroes and Xie

The Joint Trust Warehouse, Shanghai, in 2015, remodeled to its 1937 appearance. One part is now a museum and the other an office block. (Author's collection)

became a celebrity. The Japanese tried to entice them to leave as refugees, but failed. Instead, the Japanese later had Xie murdered by buying off a traitor within his ranks. Xie was killed on 24 April 1941 and was buried in Shanghai. In the events following Pearl Harbor in December 1941, the Japanese occupied the International Settlement, and the '800 Braves' were sent off to do hard labour, some as far away as Papua New Guinea.

TOP
the Joint Trust Warehouse on the north side of Suzhou Creek.

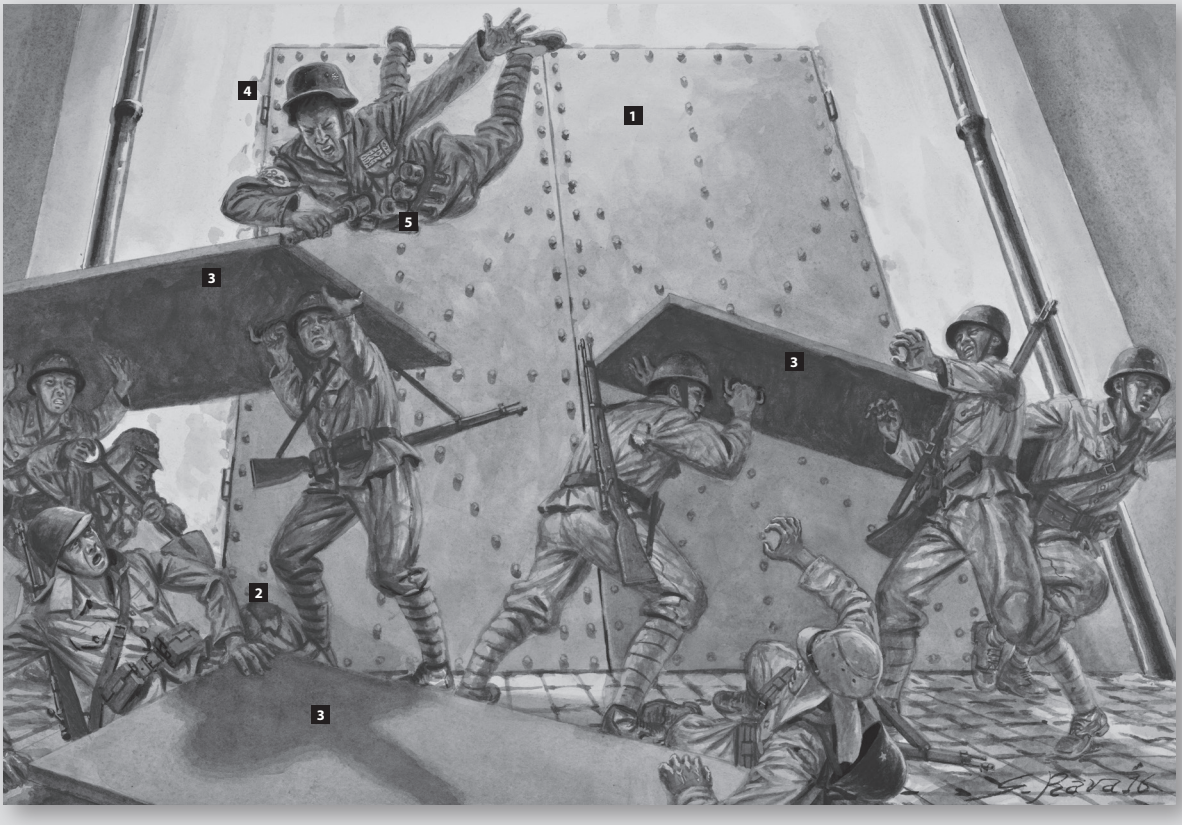
BOTTOM
On the eastern side of the warehouse (to its left) was the Tibet Road Bridge and gas storage tanks; their presence prevented the Japanese from using heavy guns when attacking the warehouse. (Sihang Museum)

TOP
The '800 Braves' following their exit from the Joint Trust Warehouse. Note the presence of an International Settlement policeman and US Marines ushering the Chinese into captivity (which would endure until 1941).

BOTTOM
34 of the 'Braves' would return from hard labour in Papua New Guinea after the war. (Sihang Museum)

THE CHINESE COLLAPSE

In the meantime, Chiang was still pouring troops into Shanghai to shore up the defences, and with the shortening of the lines, reorganization was in order. The Central Sector was eliminated, leaving the Left Sector, consisting of three Army Groups (the 3rd, 15th and 21st), and the Right Sector (8th, 9th and 10th Army groups). As the attention faded from the heroic stand of Xie's 'lone battalion', Matsui concentrated his forces crossing the Suzhou Creek in an area that was more sparsely populated (Toyoda Mill, Zhoujia Bridge 周家桥) to the west of Zhongshan Park. D-day was set for 3 November, with the 3rd and 9th divisions leading the attack, and 101st Division in reserve to cross as a second wave. The 11th Division was to attack towards Nanxiang, acting as flank protection. Opposite the crossing point, the Chinese 36th Division and what remained of the SG Regiment faced the brunt of the Japanese attack. Sun Liren 孙立人, a future rising star in the Chinese army and then a regimental commander of the 4th SG Regiment, was seriously injured in the detonation of a sea mine, which was being emplaced to block the crossing of the creek. By the evening of the 31st, the Japanese had a toehold on the southern bank of the Suzhou Creek. In the battle of the creek crossing, the German observers and advisors recorded that the Chinese made the same mistakes over and over again. Like the Japanese, a lack of independent thinking held up small-unit commanders at the critical point of the battle, leading them to fail to capitalize on



THE '800 BRAVES' OF THE CHINESE SHANGHAI ALAMO (PP. 56–57)

Just before dawn on 28 October, the Japanese tried to gain entry to the Joint Trust Warehouse by blowing up the heavy steel gate (**1**) of the warehouse with satchel charges (**2**). The Japanese used several large steel plates (**3**) with handles added, to protect them against the Chinese shooting downwards at them and hurling grenades from above. Just as they were planting the charges, in the nick of time, Private Chen Shusheng 陈树生 (**4**) gathered up any available grenades (**5**) and threw himself from the 4th floor as a suicide bomber to stop the attack.

the situation. Nevertheless, the IJNLF troops did manage to cross the creek and the Chinese now faced encirclement.

On the night of 8 November, the Chinese abandoned their positions, and the next morning, the Japanese found an empty Shanghai. Immediately, they swept across the Suzhou Creek en masse and by noon had captured Hongqiao Aerodrome. Retreating Chinese troops, including those from Pudong, set fire to buildings including the Japanese-owned Toyoda Mill constantly being harassed by the Japanese.

Based on their previous experiences of campaigns in the north, where the battles were less intensive and casualties were fewer, planners in Tokyo were concerned that the war was not progressing sufficiently smoothly. By the end of September, casualties in Shanghai stood at 12,334 while in northern China they were only 8,562. By 23 October, they reached 25,323, with the 9th Division losing 9,000 men, half its strength, and the 101st Division losing even more. The debate was whether the battle in the north should be the priority, or whether the Shanghai campaign should take the lead. The Japanese could not do both and the big fear was that, should the Soviets attack while the Shanghai campaign was still unresolved, Japan could face disaster. The final consensus was to solve the Shanghai question once and for all by overwhelming force to make Chiang capitulate. Tokyo was betting that the Soviets would not attack just yet, and by leaving a mere two divisions (the 2nd and 7th) for homeland protection, Japan placed all its eggs in the China basket.

TOP
A depiction of the landing at Hangzhou Bay by the Japanese war artist Mikuni Hisashi 三國久.

BOTTOM
Wading ashore at Hangzhou Bay. (Author's collection)

A 70,000-strong force led by the 58-year-old retired veteran Lieutenant-General Yanagawa Heisuke at the head of X Corps was readied. While undergoing formation (achieved mostly by transferring units from northern China and Japan), the planners debated where to land this force – at the same place as before, or at Hangzhou Bay, south-west of Shanghai. The former was a predictable move, while the latter offered strategic surprise in an area where the Chinese defences were weak. Matsui had his doubts about Hangzhou Bay, but the plan stuck and D-Day was planned for 5 November. What happened next clearly illustrates the 'independent' nature of the IJA. What the planners in Tokyo had in mind and what the local commanders intended to do differed extensively, so that the actions on the ground often bore little or no resemblance to the original directives. In short, Tokyo had little control over the war. The Japanese planners wanted to land at Jinshanwei 金山卫, move north to Minhang 闵行 (a suburb of Shanghai only 16km from the city centre), then strike towards Shanghai and cut off Shanghai from the south and south-west. However, Lieutenant-General Yanagawa, an army man, was not satisfied with just capturing Shanghai, helping the IJN to complete its

Observation balloons were a war-winning tool that gave the Japanese superiority over the Chinese. Both the SEF and CCA had numerous observation balloon units. (Nanjing Massacre Museum)

failed operation, but wanted to push to the west to Suzhou and fight a battle of annihilation to destroy Chiang's army once and for all. It was a classic case of mission creep.

The X Corps sailed for China aboard 41 transporters protected by 39 destroyers, gunboats and the armed seaplane tender *Kinugasa Maru* 衣笠丸, split into three squadrons. The fleet included the *Shinshu Maru*, the world's first amphibious landing ship. To confuse the Chinese, the fleet made a detour before arriving at Hangzhou Bay. On 5 November 1937 before sunrise, protected by a thick fog and the cover of darkness, the landings kicked off with the Kunisaki Detachment 国崎 leading, followed by the 6th and 18th divisions on either side of it as flank protection. The 114th Division, with two reserve regiments, landed five days later due to insufficient sea transports. Although the infantry had no problem in crossing the soft sand, the heavier equipment became stuck. It was days before the infantry and the heavier elements linked up again, the latter having to be diverted to Wusong in order to come ashore at a port. The immediate objective for the 6th Division was the city of Songjiang 松江 some 38km south-west of Shanghai and a key staging point on the Hangzhou–Shanghai railway line, with Minhang defined as the stage two objective. To protect the main force, part of the 18th Division was to aim due north for Jinshan town 金山城, while a second force was to head for Guangchen town 广陈镇, some 23km north-west from Jinshanwei.

With the addition of the X Corps to the campaign, Order No. 134 announced the creation of a unified command, the CCA under General Matsui, encompassing both the X Corps and the SEF. The IJN was reinforced too with the addition of the Fourth Fleet to the theatre. Together with the Third Fleet and three Carrier divisions, they formed the CAF with an additional task to conduct a blockade of the entire Chinese coast. Despite initial assurances by the IJN, British and American ships were harassed and stopped, not only cutting off war supplies but reducing the all-important Chinese customs revenue. Originally, the northern banks of Hangzhou Bay were protected by four divisions and one brigade, but as the battle for Shanghai intensified, troops were milked and by the time the X Corps landed at Jinshanwei, only the Chinese 62nd Division was left, and it had a huge area to cover, leaving only two companies or *c*.300 men, many of whom were recruited as a token guard. In support was a battery of artillery (four guns), local security forces and village defence militia.

Inevitably, the landings were a walk in the park for Lieutenant-General Yanagawa Heisuke. The Chinese blamed an error in the 1933 defence plans, which considered the water in the area too shallow to allow ships access; furthermore, the planners thought, the crisscrossing network of canals and streams inland would hinder enemy movement. Thus it was never part of any plan to allocate coastal defences to this area, and more seriously, no operational scenarios were developed for fighting in this area. Thus, when the Japanese did advance through this gap, the Chinese had no staff work developed as to how to advance or withdraw. If the Chinese had been observant, they would have noticed signs that the Japanese were up to something as early as 10 August, just one day after the Ohyama Incident:

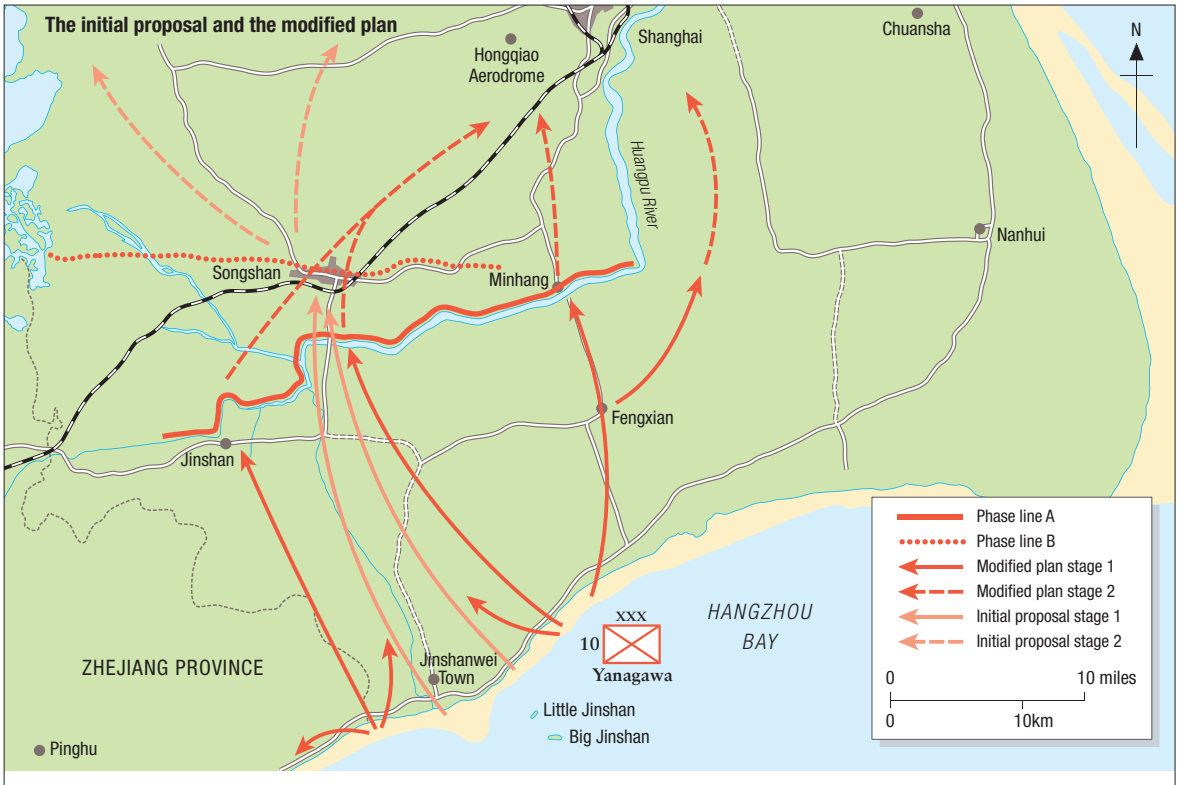
HIJMS *Kamoi*, a seaplane carrier, and destroyer escort were conducting air-reconnaissance in Hangzhou Bay, and the Chinese did see and even reported these sightings. On the night of 4 November, Japanese troops in inflatable boats were seen landing at Jinshanwei, but somehow this critical news was not delivered.

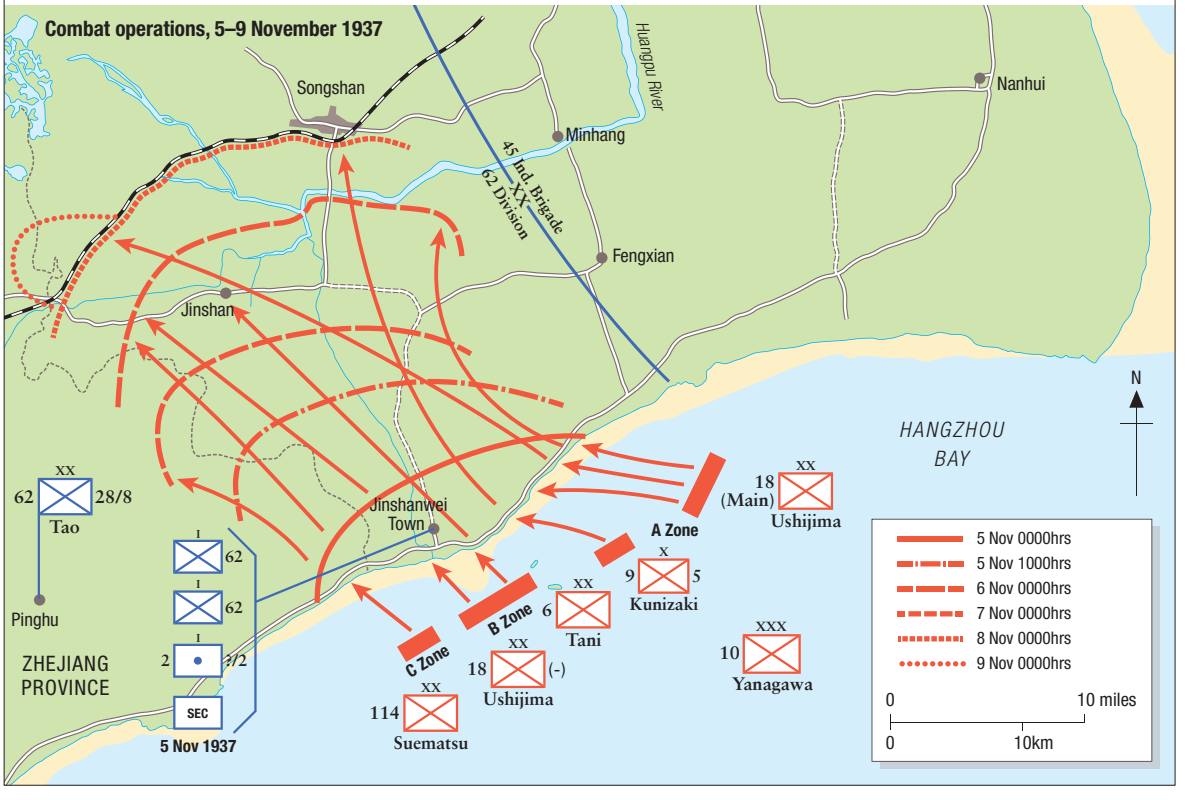
On hearing of the landings, a deeply concerned Chiang tried to get his troops to fight, but the collapse was too great and he ordered a general withdrawal. The plan was for the Left Sector troops to decamp to the Wufu Line north of Lake Tai 太湖 and the Right Sector's 8th, 9th and 10th Army groups to the Zhapingjia Line south of Lake Tai, creating a north–south barrier that essentially blocked the Japanese in an area east of Lake Tai. As a secondary backup, to the rear of the Wufu Line was the Xideng Line linking Jiangyin Fort 江阴 to the north on the southern banks of the Yangzte to Wuxi, a city on the northern banks of Lake Tai. If Chiang had not insisted on defending Shanghai for longer than necessary, thus embroiling his forces in a Verdun-style battle of attrition, then there may have been the possibility of an orderly withdrawal. Military discipline collapsed, however, and it was every unit and man for himself. Orders were delivered in a chaotic fashion; some, like General Zhang Fakui, claimed that even as a commander of two Army groups, he did not receive any formal orders to withdraw. Many units only found out that there was a general order to withdraw when the neighbouring units departed. The withdrawal was total chaos, with the forward Japanese units at times level with or even bypassing the retreating Chinese troops, whose movement was hindered by thousands of refugees and constant Japanese air attacks. The endless days of rain did not help, turning the roads into rivers of mud.

While the battle on the outskirts of Shanghai was heating up, the battle for Shanghai itself was reaching its finale. IJNSLF troops were pushing towards the last part of unoccupied Shanghai, Nanshi 南市, the old Chinese city south of the International Settlement, bounded by the French Concession. Making a last stand was the 165th Brigade, some ROCN Military Police and Chinese police. Surrounded, they made this their Alamo and fought to

The one-armed French Jesuit Priest Robert Jacquinot de Besange maintained a safety zone in Nantao (now Yu Garden), an old Chinese city in the eastern part of the French Concession, sheltering 500,000 refugees. (Getty Images 106504025)

IJA X Corps' landing at Jinshanwei, 5–9 November 1937.





The upper map outlines the initial plan as submitted to the Imperial HQ, and the modified version, for X Corps' landings at Jinshanwei. The initial plan proposed an advance to Songshan, at which point the force would split: one part would head west to capture Suzhou, while the other moved east to envelope Shanghai by linking up with the SEF in order to surround and destroy the entire Chinese army. The Imperial HQ came back with a modified plan; it disagreed with splitting the force and instead insisted on directing the main effort towards Shanghai. The phase line was pushed south to a tributary of the Huangpu River (A), instead of resting on the Hangzhou railway further to the north (B). The lower map shows the actual landings. These proceeded more or less according to the plan, but the main force, Ushijima's18th Division, although located on the right, moved on a north-west axis, ignoring the Imperial HQ order. Defending the coast was a very weak Chinese force of only two companies of infantry supported by a battery of artillery and a local security militia force. The HQ of the 62nd Division was located at Pinghu.

the last, with only 40 survivors under Regimental Commander Jiao Changfu 焦长富 succeeding in breaking out. A lucky few managed to cross into the French Concession. On Armistice Day 1937, Shanghai finally fell.

Once inland, the Japanese made rapid advances. The only Chinese unit that could be deployed against the two advancing Japanese divisions was a single regiment, the 367th from the 62nd Division. Other units that were in hand and could have been made available to help, such as the 45th Brigade, which was idling around Minhang building defensive works, were not dispatched to block the Japanese landing. Brigadier Zhang Luanji 张銮基 only discovered the IJA had landed when he was attacked. By 9 November, 8th Army Group was trying to organize a defensive line on the Huangpu River, but there were no trenches or pillboxes, nor artillery support; the plan was impractical and did not even dent the advance of X Corps. The 107th and 108th divisions that made up LXVII Corps were tasked with holding back the Japanese advance. 108th was deployed on the west of the city and 107th to the south. Despite being reinforced by elements (*c.*100 troops) of the much-depleted XXXXIII Corps (a 500-strong regional force from south-west China recuperating at Jiaxing after heavy losses at Dachang), who speed-marched to join the LXVII Corps, after three days of a heroic defence of Songjiang, the LXVII Corps had to leave the city, and by the 9th the city was lost. The Japanese had succeeded in cutting the Shanghai–Hangzhou railway. While withdrawing northwards, the LXVII Corps was ambushed at Sheshan 佘山 by the French basilica but managed to fight its attackers off and continued its retreat. Luck ran out for Lieutenant-General Wu Keren, the commanding officer of LXVII Corps, who was killed while conducting a river crossing on his way to Kunshan 昆山, a town 50km north-west of Shanghai, by plainclothes Japanese commandos hiding amongst the refugees. General Xue Yue had to dive into the river to escape when his sedan was hit, killing his driver and aide-de-camp; like Xue Yue, Lieutenant-General Hu Zongnan 胡宗南 of XVII Corps also had a close call, escaping by the skin of his teeth.

To complete the giant pincer movement, on 12 and 13 November, the Japanese 16th Division (a unit originally campaigning in

Victorious Japanese troops marching down the Nanjing Road, the main shopping street in the International Settlement, as a demonstration of power to the West. (Getty Images 2636247)

northern China) landed in Shanghai, adding to the SEF's order of battle. By landing further up the Yangtze on its southern bank at Baimaokou, just north-east of Changshu city, then joining up with Shigeto's Taiwanese Detachment which had landed earlier, the division formed the northern arm of the pincer to trap the Chinese in the Greater Shanghai cauldron.

When the Chinese reached the Wufu Line, which was supposed to be the strongest of all the defensive lines, what happened was a comedy of errors that only served to illustrate the general incompetence of the Chinese command. First the retreating troops could not find where the pillboxes were, some being so well hidden on account of the secrecy of their construction. The lack of maps of the defensive line obviously did not help. When the pillboxes were located, their steel doors were found to be locked, and the keys to them were with the retreating local officials. Furthermore, the construction of the so-called 'Chinese Hindenburg Line' was found to be incomplete. Lacking basic features such as communication trenches, each pillbox was little more than an isolated concrete coffin. The situation at the southern Zhapingjia Line was no better. Chinese towns were falling like ninepins; by 19 November, the IJA 18th and 114th divisions had captured Jiaxin 嘉兴 and the Kunisaki Detachment had secured the southern shores of Lake Tai. Suzhou city fell to the 9th Division while the 11th Division took Mocheng town 莫城镇 some 40km north of Suzhou City. Fushan, the southern terminal of the Wufu Line, was taken by the 16th Division, while the 13th Division had reached the area between the north of Changshu City and the Yangtze.

THE ROAD TO NANJING

Lieutenant-General Yanagawa had finally got what he desired, the fall of Suzhou. However, Deputy Chief of Staff Hayao Tada's 多田 駿 order dated 7 November clearly stated the mission and limit of engagement (LOE) as being to 'destroy the Chinese army of the Greater Shanghai zone in the area east of Suzhou and Jiaxing'. Nanjing is 215km west of Suzhou.

However, the ever eager Yanagawa wanted to go for broke and capture the capital Nanjing. In his opinion, it was the only way to solve the 'China problem'. In fact, General Matsui made it clear to his superiors even before

Landing on the banks of the Yangtze. The Japanese infantrymen were equipped with assault boats to navigate the many creeks and rivers in eastern China. (Getty Images 548799525)

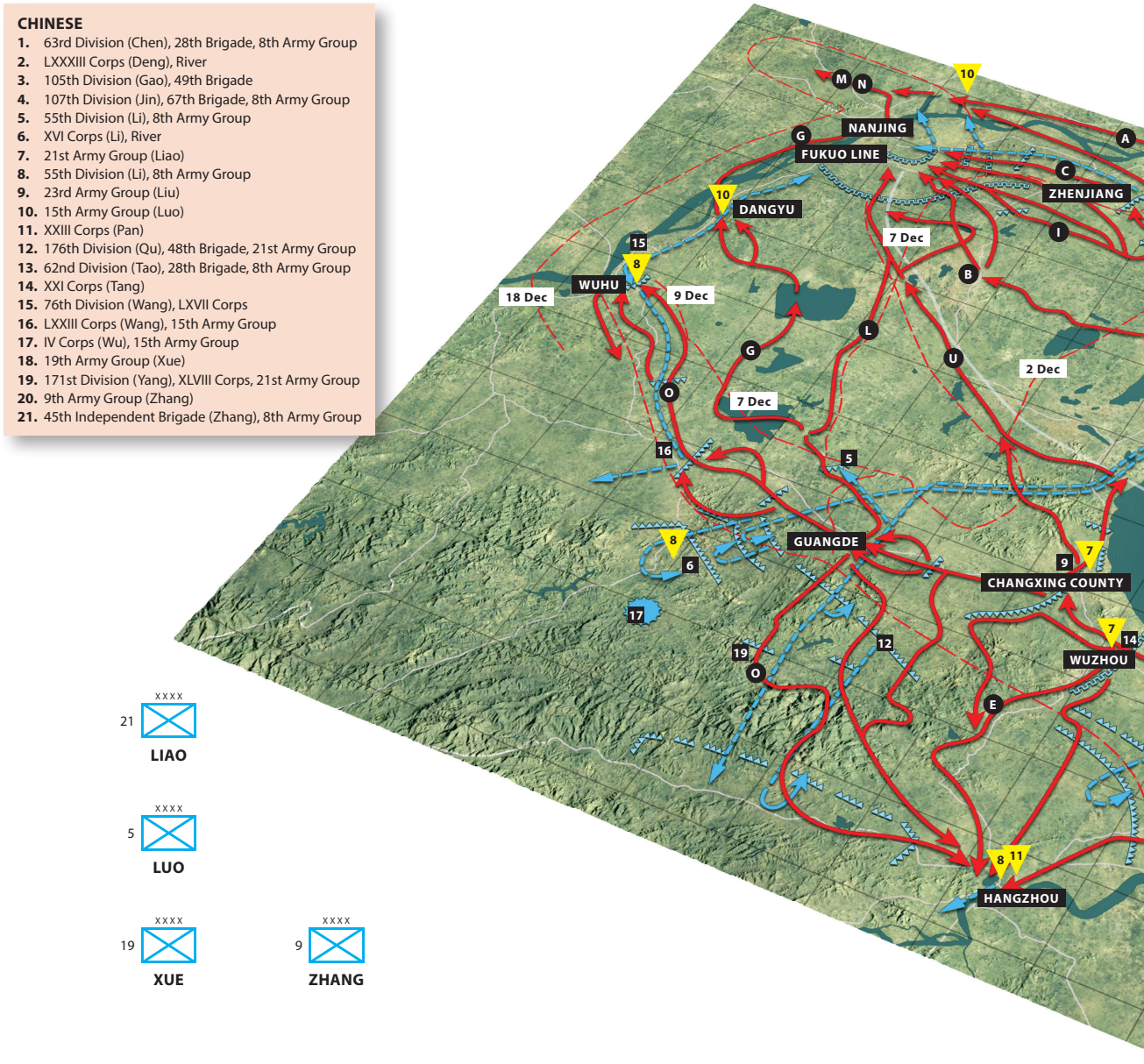
he left for Shanghai that he wanted to march on Nanjing. On the 15th, a consensus was reached amongst the field commanders. Yanagawa's orders to the X Corps were 'to take every opportunity to chase and harass the enemy all the way to Nanjing', a flagrant act of insubordination. When Tokyo received the report from Yanagawa on the 20th, they were shocked to find that the X Corps was already moving west; indeed, the 6th Division had reached Huzhou 湖州, some 80km beyond the established LOE. It was a matter of *fait accompli*, a much-used strategy to force Tokyo to accept what was already set in concrete. On the 24th, the newly formed Imperial General Headquarters–Government Liaison Conference, headed by the Emperor himself approved the move to capture Nanjing and retracted the previous LOE; by that time, the IJA and the SEF was already five days along the road to Nanjing.

While the Japanese were arguing about the course of the war, the Chinese were also debating what to do. On 15 November, Chiang Kaishek convened a meeting of the National Defence Council to undertake a decision on what to do in case of a Japanese attack on Nanjing, and whether the city should be defended or not. Initially, Chiang had not made up his mind; his advisors, Chief of Staff He Yingqin 何应钦, the Deputy Chief of Staff Bai Chongxi, the head of the Fifth War Zone Li Zongren, and his German advisor von Falkenhausen, all argued that the Chinese army needed more time to recover, and pointed out that the terrain favoured the attacker and that the Yangtze River behind Nanjing would cut off the defenders' retreat. All of a sudden, General Tang Shengzhi volunteered himself to be the stay-behind commander in Nanjing, insinuating the rest were cowards for giving up the nation's capital without a fight. Chiang agreed to Tang's proposal, but his diary later revealed that he was caught between a rock and a hard place. Tang's order was to 'defend the established defence lines at any cost and destroy the enemy's besieging force'. On the same day that Nanjing Garrison was established, Chiang officially moved the capital from Nanjing to Chongqing deep in China's south-western interior.

The capture of Jiangyin Fort by the IJA 58th Regiment, 13th Division. The IJA preferred to name their units after the commanding officer, in this case Colonel Kuramori Oyakenin 倉森公任, rather than by unit designation. (Nanjing Massacre Museum)

Pushing beyond the LOE, the Japanese were cutting through the Chinese lines like a hot knife through butter. Divided into three forces, the most northerly comprised the IJN supported by army aviation forces, taking the river route; the middle force, the SEF, was heading along the southern banks of the Yangtze; and the third force, comprising X Corps, was taking a route south of Lake Tai, aiming to strike Nanjing from the south.

At first, General Matsui envisaged a slow and steady march on Nanjing. However, insubordination appears to have permeated the IJA, as his subordinates refused to play along



EVENTS

1. The ROCNS *Puan* (an 1896 German merchantman) and six confiscated Japanese ships are scuttled on the Yangtze by the Chinese; also, sections of the Huangpu River are mined.

2. On the Huangpu River, 8 naval vessels, 23 cargo ships and 8 barges are sculttled, and navigational aids are destroyed by the Chinese.

3. The Japanese landings take place at Shanghai: the SEF saves the overstretched IJNSLF.

4. Subsequent Japanese landings take place, beginning on 14 September at Baimaokou upriver in the Yangtze. This first move in a giant pincer seeks to enclose the Chinese in the 'Shanghai cauldron'.

5. The second move in the giant pincer is actioned with the landings at Jinshanwei on 5 November. Fearing encirclement, the Chinese army withdraws in disarray. Ignoring orders to move east, Yanagawa instead moves his forces westwards to trap the Chinese army in Shanghai.

6. The four much-heralded Chinese defensive lines (Wufu, Xideng, Zhaping, Haijia) fail to stop the Japanese, mainly due to their inadequate preparation and poor construction.

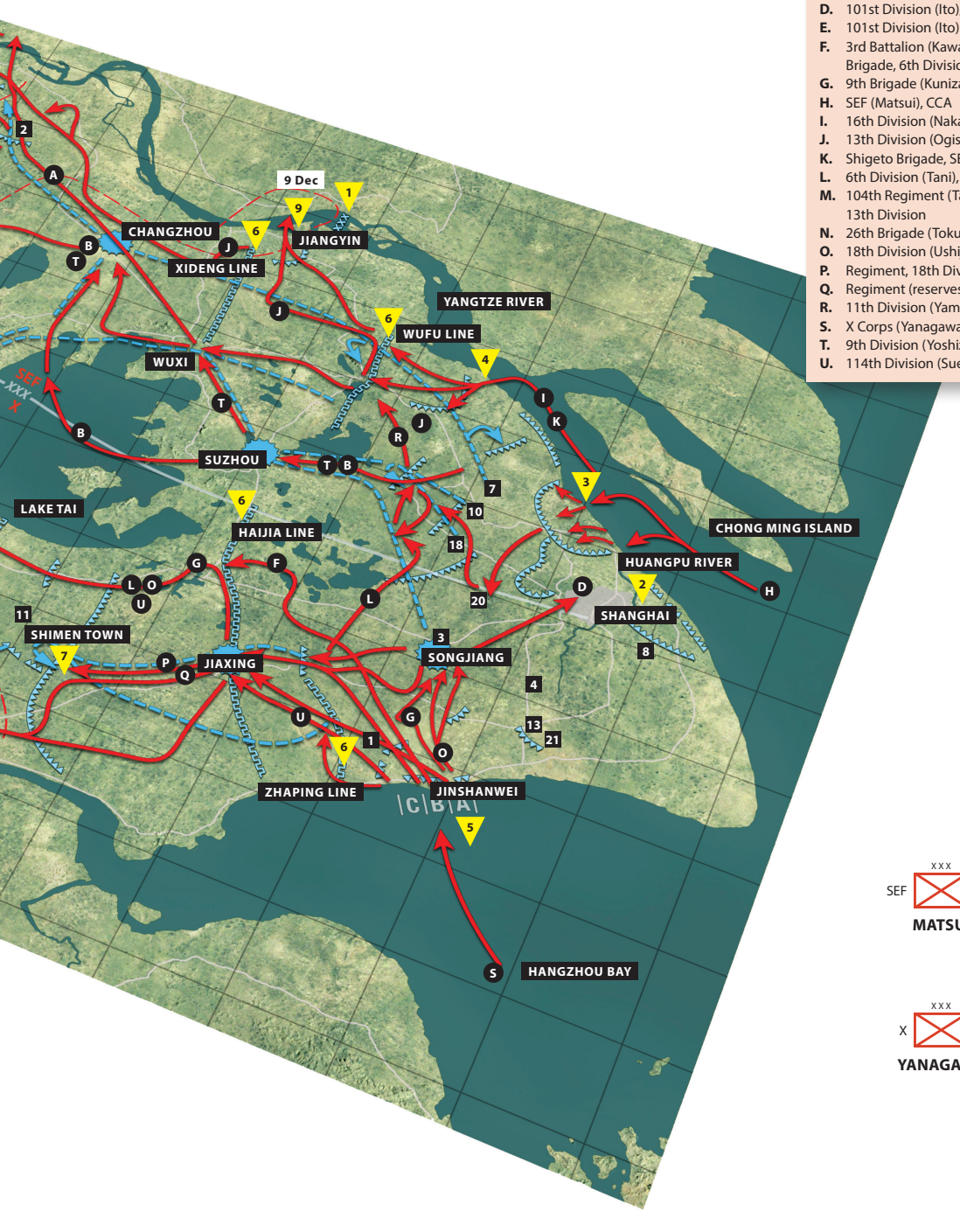
7. 23rd Army Group, VII Corps and XXIII Corps reinforcements attempt to stop the IJA advance via a series of defensive lines and counterattacks at Shimen town, Wuzhou and Changxing County, all without success.

8. Defeated, the Chinese withdraw to Hangzhou (provincial capital of Zhejiang Province), into the mountains around Mount Tianmu, and into the upper stretches of the Yangtze around Wuhu.

9. Despite holding out until 1 December, Jiangyin is made irrelevant to the defence of Nanjing as it is simply bypassed. However, it does delay the SEF's crossing of the Yangtze until 9 December.

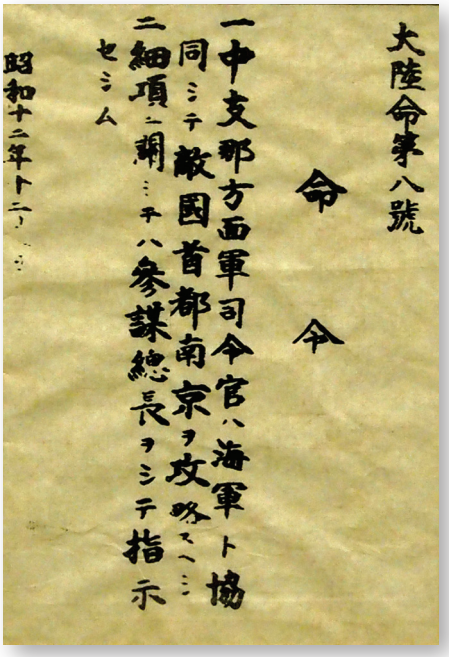
10. By 9 December, the Kunisaki Detachment has crossed the Yangtze at Dangyu, while the IJA's 13th Division is racing to Nanjing on the northern banks of the Yangtze, in an attempt to envelop the Chinese in another pincer move. However, the net is closed too slowly, thus allowing at least some of the defenders to escape the subsequent massacres.

11. The Japanese southern flank is secured when Hangzhou falls on Christmas day 1937 to the 18th and 101st divisions. The former has been withdrawn from the attack on Nanjing, and the latter has been formed by milking the CCA's reserves (less three battalions, which remain in Shanghai).



THE RACE TO NANJING, 5 NOVEMBER–10 DECEMBER 1937

Tokyo never intended to enlarge the war as far as Nanjing. It was a case of the tail wagging the dog, where bellicose field commanders drove the IJA into a quagmire of war without end.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二細項ニ関シテハ参謀総長ヲシテ指示
セシム

昭和十二年十二月

A copy of the infamous Mainland/Tokyo HQ Order No. 8, which specifically instructed the CCA, in conjunction with the IJN, to attack and capture Nanjing. (Nanjing Massacre Museum)

and instead raced eagerly with each other to be the first to get to the city. The key town of Guangde, 250km south-west of Nanjing, fell on 30 November, three days before it was even supposed to be attacked, and the SEF captured Danyang 丹阳, 88km west of Nanjing, on 2 December, more than five days ahead of schedule. In order to achieve such speedy advances, the Japanese soldiers were in battle order, essentially carrying only their weapons and ammunition. The logistical tail failed to keep pace with the tooth units, and to feed itself the army resorted to the ancient practice of looting along the way. Breakdowns in discipline were already occurring, and this may have contributed to the massacres that took place in Nanjing later on.

While Chiang Kaishek was reeling off incoherent orders to 'fight to the death' and 'yield not an inch' to his troops, the Chinese were falling back on all fronts. In a last-ditch effort, the 23rd Army Group, comprising some 50,000 regional troops from Sichuan, attempted to make a stand at Guangde and Sian 泗安 by counter-attacking the Japanese. Although some minor victories were scored, such as the capture of the Japanese baggage train at Sian by the 146th Division, the total air superiority enjoyed by the Japanese (resulting in constant bombardment of the Chinese) caused the morale to collapse in many units; the desertions thus broke the Chinese line and caused the rest of the 145th Division to break. Shamed by the collapse, Major-General Rao Guohua 饶国华 committed suicide. After the collapse of the Xideng Line and the fall of Wuxi on the 26th, before attacking Nanjing one of the last big engagements was the siege of Jiangyin Fort. Despite being defended by two divisions, the 102nd and 112th, and the support of newly arrived German 150mm and 88mm artillery, the Chinese defence collapsed on 1 December, but not before sinking and inflicting damage on several IJN ships.

THE BATTLE FOR NANJING

On 1 December, Tokyo issued orders to 'Attack Nanjing', as if to formalize what was already in motion on the ground. For the first time in the campaign, Tokyo and the field commanders were in agreement over the war plan and objectives. On the same day, Prince Asaka Yasuhiko arrived to take command of the SEF, relieving the sickly General Matsui, who was shifted to lead the CCA.

Since mid-November the Chinese had been bolstering Nanjing's defences. Nanjing itself was surrounded by formidable Ming Dynasty walls almost 36km in circumference, rising 20m high, and with a thickness of 9m. By 6 December, all the city gates were closed and barricaded with sandbags and concrete. Outside the walls lay a series of semi-circular defensive lines, the most notable of which were an outer one about 16km from the city and an inner one directly outside the city known colloquially as the Fukuo Line or 'complex line', a sprawling network of trenches, moats, barbed wire, minefields, gun emplacements and pillboxes. Facing the Japanese were a couple of high points, the peaks of Purple Hill 紫金 山 to the north-east and a

collection of hilltop forts (Lion, Black Dragon Peak, Tiger, Mufu, Majia and Qingliang Hill and Flower Drop Rise) collectively known as the Jiangning Fortress 江宁要塞. To deny any resources to the Japanese, Tang adopted a scorched-earth policy, ordering all homes and structures within 16km of the city to be set alight.

On paper the Nanjing Garrison was a formidable force with 13 divisions, including three elite Germanized divisions plus the DC. But the Germanized divisions were badly mauled after nearly four months of battle, and they were physically exhausted, low on equipment and badly depleted. Hastily drafted recruits were pressed into service; of the total garrison of 81,000 men, 32,000 were recruits with only rudimentary training. The remaining 49,000 were experienced troops, including the 36th and 88th Germanized divisions, the DC, two Military Police regiments and the Jiangning Fortress garrison manning the seven constituent forts. In support there were 17 tanks, artillery and signals/logistic elements. After Chiang had decided to defend Nanjing, he added nine major units (the 36th, 51st, 58th, 74th, 87th and 88th divisions, the Demonstration Corps, Military Police Corps, and the Armoured Regiment) rescued from Shanghai topped up with fresh troops from regional warlords; these comprised the 41st and 48th (from Wuhan), the 159th, 160th, 154th and 156th (from Guangdong), and the 103rd and 112th divisions from the River Defence Force. Initially the Chinese troops' dispositions were as follows:

1. **Garrison HQ:** Initially Tang's House (22 Baiziting Road), later at the Railway Ministry.
2. **Outer Defences:**

(a) Southern defences: 58th and 74th divisions at Cow's Head Hill 牛首山 supported by elements of the 88th Division at the top of the hill.

(b) South-eastern defences: 51st and 74th divisions in the area between Square Hill 方山 and Zhunhua town 淳化镇. On the right were the 58th and 74th divisions, with LXVI Corps to the left. In-depth positions were held by the 2nd Battalion, 1st Regiment (1st Brigade) of the DC at West Peak 西山 and one regiment from the 36th

The USS *Panay* (PR-5) was sunk on 12 December 1937, despite displaying several large American flags as well as one painted atop the cabin. Several sailors were killed. A large indemnity was paid, which prevented the outbreak of an American–Japanese war in the Pacific in 1937. (Getty Images 162376002)

Division at Dragon King Peak 龙王山. Further to the rear was the 87th Division occupying the area north of Seven Arch Bridge 七桥瓮 using the railway as a defensive line.

(c) Eastern defences: LXVI Corps occupying Green Dragon/Qinglong Hill 青龙山 and Dalian Hill 大连山 right up to Tang Mountain 汤山 (32km east of Nanjing). Half of the LXXXIII Corps filled the gap from Tang Mountain to Longtan 龙潭 (33km north-east of Nanjing along the Yangtze southern bank).

(d) Northern defences: 41st Division at Black Dragon Hill (arriving on 8 December) all along the southern banks of the Yangtze as far as Longtan town. The 48th Division occupied some deeper positions as far as Yaohua Gate尧化门.

3. **Fukuo Line** (inner defences: from Flower Drop Rise to Purple Hill, ending at Mufu Hill).

(a) Southern defences:

(i) 88th Division, covering the south with the 264th Brigade on Flower Drop Rise 雨花台. The 262nd Brigade was located within the city centre, around West Water Gate 水西门, China Gate 中华门and Wuding Gate 武定门.

(ii) 87th and 260th brigades supported by a Pioneer battalion from the DC at Guanghua/Bright China Gate 光华门.

(b) Eastern defences:

(i) DC: 1st Brigade (less 2nd Battalion) on the right flank of Purple Hill. Two regiments (3rd Regiment, 2nd Brigade and 5th Regiment, 3rd Brigade) with two guns on the left flank of Purple Hill. HQ at Wealthy Hill 富贵山 with the Signal Battalion and two artillery pieces, south-west of Purple Hill. The 103rd Division arrived from Zhenjiang 镇江 on the 10th, under Corps command.

(ii) Part of the 87th Division and one battalion of the DC at Zhongshan Gate 中山门.

(c) Northern defences: 36th Division covering Xuanwu Gate 玄武门, Red Hill 红山, Mufu Hill 幕府山, Yijiang Gate 挹江门 and river defence.

(d) Western defences: two regiments of Military Police plus an additional regiment of Military Police from the DC in the area from Dingzhun Gate 定准门 to Hanzhong Gate 汉中门. One company detached as scouts to Longtan, Tangshui 汤水 and Zhunhua town.

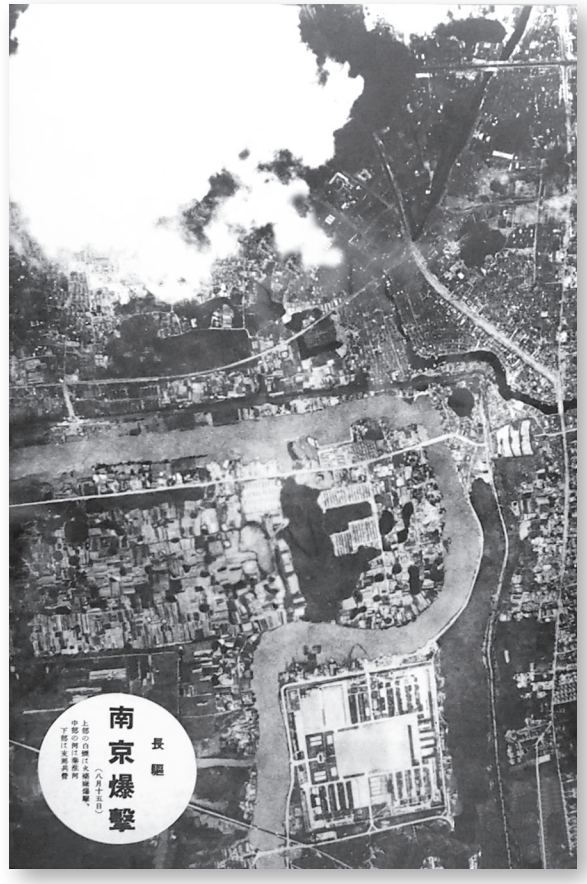
(e) River defences: Fortress Garrison covering the river western defences and manning all the seven constituent forts as well as Black Dragon Hill and Mufu Hill; reinforced with 2nd Regiment, 1st Brigade, DC.

(f) Garrison reserve: located at Taiping/Peace Gate 太平门, including the Special Duties Battalion and Engineer and Logistic regiments.

Facing the Chinese was a formidable Japanese force of 300,000 troops moving in a giant pincer. Headed by the Yamada Detachment from the 13th Division, the northern force followed the southern Yangtze bank as an axis to attack Nanjing from the north. To cut reinforcements and escape via the Grand Canal, the Amaya Detachment crossed the Yangtze at Zhenjiang heading towards Yangzhou city 扬州. In the centre were the 9th and 16th divisions. The southern force comprised the X Corps, with the 114th Division taking a more direct route aiming at the south-west corner of the city while the 6th Division made a wide flanking move, coming up due south

of Nanjing. To ensure that the escape routes were truly plugged, the Kunisaki Detachment crossed the Yangtze at Maan Hill 马鞍山 Town with the ultimate aim of occupying the river bank west of Nanjing while the Amaya Detachment, having taken Yangzhou, would head east to cut the Nanjing–Beijing railway line.

The Japanese had been bombing Nanjing since August, and by December areas of the city (like the China Gate in the south and West Water Gate in the western part) were completely devastated. On 4 December, advance troops of the SEF were fired upon by the Chinese on the outskirts of Jurong town 句容市 40km due east of Nanjing. Elements of the 2nd Battalion, 301st Regiment of 36th Brigade (9th Division) were heavily engaging with the 501st Regiment of the 51st Division at Tuqiao village土桥 just to the south-west of Jurong. To tip the balance, General Gui Yongqing of the DC sent a platoon of PzKpfw I light tanks with two sidecar motorcycles acting as scouts in an attempt to halt the Japanese. The light-armour force, in support of one regiment of the reconstituted Chinese 36th Division, quickly turned the tide against the Japanese, even to the point of nearly overrunning the 18th Brigade's HQ and killing its commander before retiring with the loss of two tanks. The movements of the SEF were so rapid that, in a stroke of luck, a group of IJA troops (who were raiding an abandoned Chinese army store) encountered a PzKpfw I laager and managed to kill most of the crews and captured two tanks. Despite bringing up armour and Solothurn S-5/106 20mm AA guns to hold the line, the 51st Division was unable to prevent a Japanese breakthrough at Chunhua 淳化 town. The winning ace was air power and artillery. To the detriment of the Chinese, since the capitulation of Shanghai the Japanese ground–air support had only increased in intensity on account of the capture of several Chinese airfields as Japanese ground forces moved west. No matter how good the Chinese were at winning firefights, even repulsing the Japanese on many occasions, in the end when heavyweight armour and artillery were brought in, the exhausted Chinese, even fighting to the last man, were unable to hold their lines.



This picture taken on 15 August 1937 over Nanjing shows the Qinhuai River. The square in the lower right appears to be a Chinese barracks. (Nanjing Massacre Museum)

For much of November, General Matsui had grown sicker with malaria and gradually the day-to-day operational control of the campaign was handed to Prince Asaka. On 2 December, Matsui formally handed over command of the CCA to the prince. For almost ten days in December, Matsui was bed-ridden and as a result he had little or no say in how the actual attack on Nanjing went, as well as little responsibility for the conduct of Japanese troops after the fall. On 7 December, while Matsui moved his command post from Shanghai to Suzhou in order to be closer to the front lines, Chiang Kaishek and his wife fled Nanjing. The next day, Tang order the abandonment of the city's outer defences. The battle

The No. 7 Public Air-Raid Shelter, located next to the Inland Revenue office in Nanjing. (Nanjing Massacre Museum)

for the Fukuo Line, the last line of defence for the city, would now prove critical. The Chinese withdrawal order was executed without planning and preparation, such that when it did happen, it mimicked the collapse at Shanghai. At times it was a race to Nanjing, with the Chinese sometimes arriving in their new defensive positions almost at the same time as the Japanese. To add to the woes, some of the Nanjing pillboxes were of equally shoddy construction. While the battle raged on the 9th, and in contrast to the heavy aerial bombardment of Chinese troops at the China Gate, the citizens of Nanjing were greeted with paper flyers. These requested the surrender of the city and gave Tang a window of opportunity to reply by noon of the 10th. As predicted, Tang rejected the demand; it would have been difficult for him to relinquish the city after having made his promise to fight to the last.

The objectives of the 16th Division and the 101st Division were Purple Hill, Zhongshan Gate and eventually a move towards Xiaguan Pier on the west side of the city. The 68th Regiment (3rd Division) was to attack the Tongji Gate 通济门 and Wuding Gate 武定门, two gates located between the China and Bright China gates. Attacking from the north was the Yamada Detachment aiming at Mufu and Black Dragon hills, while the IJN's gunboats moved to capture Xiaguan Pier.

To the south of the city, a mission to disable two key bridges, the Gaoqiao Gate 高桥门 and Seven Arch Bridge, enabled the IJA 9th Division to reach right to the foot of Nanjing's ancient walls with ease. The assault on the Bright China Gate began with a day and a half of concentrated bombardment and tank assault. The ancient wall finally collapsed and the debris formed a scree slope (although steep at 45 degrees), which enabled the Japanese to climb to the top of the battlements. To ensure his name was cemented in history as the first to enter Nanjing, regimental commander Wakisaka Jiro 脇坂次郎 of the 36th Regiment (9th Division) ordered Major Ito Yoshimitsu 伊藤善光, the commanding officer of his 1st Battalion, to launch a daring attack. Second Lieutenant Yamagiwa Kiichi 山際喜一, the commanding officer of No. 1 Company, took the lead bearing a huge

Japanese flag, followed by No. 4 Company as a second wave through the gap. The Japanese flag was planted on the scree, and a huge Japanese cheer erupted at 1720hrs on 10 December.[16]

Facing the Japanese 36th Regiment was a combination of men from the 259th Regiment (87th Division) and 932nd Regiment (156th Division), as well as the 2nd Regiment from the DC. The Japanese penetration of the walls was immediately pinned down by a series of determined Chinese counterattacks involving PzKpfw Is, a hail of grenades and even tossing flaming logs onto the Japanese; total annihilation was prevented by timely bursts of concentrated artillery fire. To retain their toehold on the scree, Major Yoshimitsu led the No. 3 Company (the reserve) into the fight, but the Japanese were forced to retreat back down the scree after sustaining 91 per cent casualties. The 36th Regiment tried two further assaults on the 10th, but without success; control of the scree was maintained, however. Colonel Xie Chengrui 谢承瑞, the DC regimental commander, personally led a suicide squad using flaming oil drums to eliminate the IJA toehold on the slope, and even succeeded in capturing a prisoner. Injured in the attack, Colonel Xie continued to hold the gate despite the Japanese penetration of the defences two days later, leading a squad of commandos in an effort to repulse the Japanese.

The desire to be the first to enter Nanjing may have been won by Major Yoshimitsu, but until the flag was planted in the city, the race was still open. Having raced to Flower Drop Rise, the commanding officer of the 23rd Regiment, 6th Division Colonel Okamoto Moriomi 岡本鎮臣 decided to attack Flower Drop Rise without waiting for the divisional artillery. The result of such blind bravado against prepared pillbox positions was predictable: 500 casualties in the first assault. When Lieutenant-General Tani of the 6th Division arrived, he created a three-up formation with the 13th and 23rd regiments on the left and right, and with the 47th in the centre; the 45th Regiment meanwhile skirted to the back of Flower Drop Rise. Although supported by all its artillery and by air bombardment, the 88th Division suffered heavily. Of the eight regimental commanding officers and second-in-commands, only one survived the onslaught and over 11 tanks were lost.

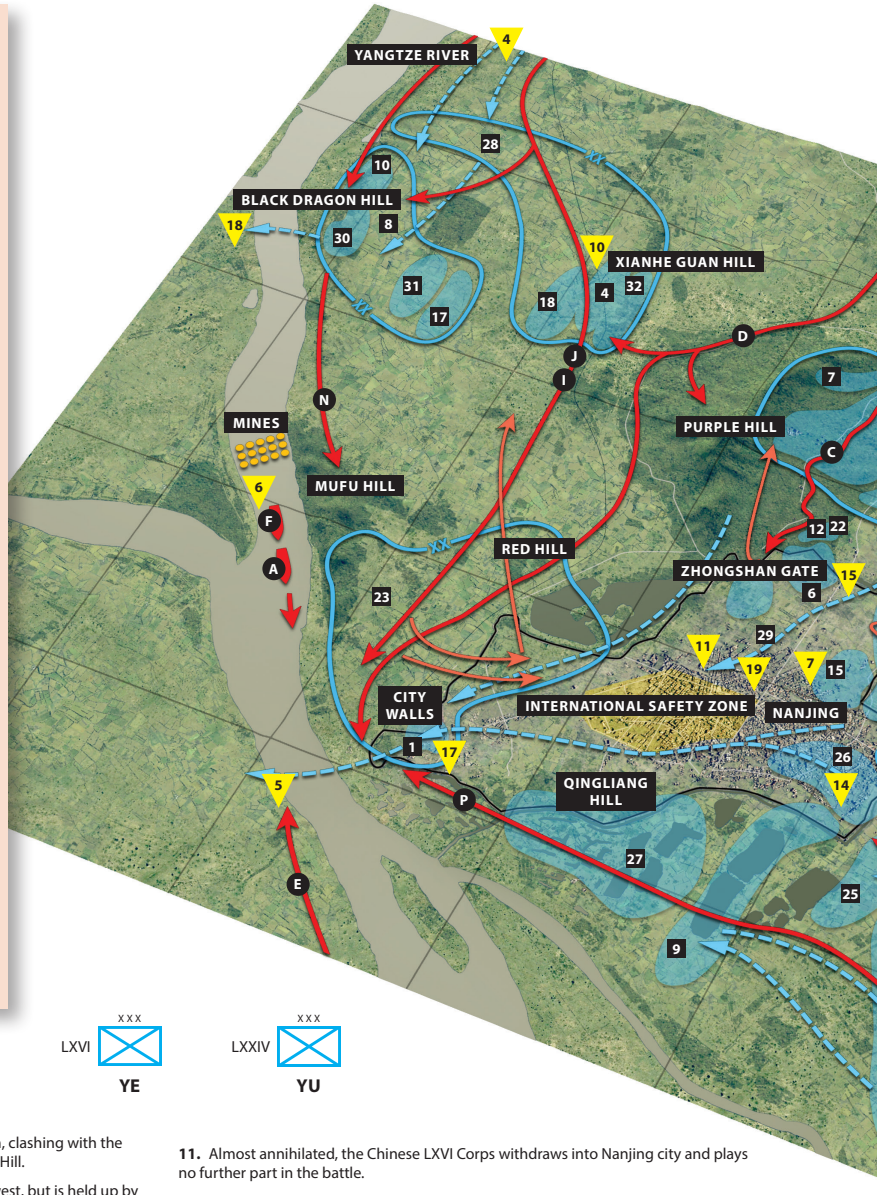
The 13th Regiment of 6th Division was the leading force in the attack on the China Gate. While the officers were contemplating how to cross the moat, Private 1st Class Hatta Takayuki 八田隆幸 came forward and informed them that he had found a small bridge that had not been blown up in a side lane west of the China Gate. Soon a plan was created by the

The China Gate consists of three gates, the East, West and Central. The Central Gate comprises a set of five gatehouses, where entry to the city was checked four times. (Author's collection)

16 A wooden marker identifying the precise spot where Japanese troops broke through the walls, and where Major Yoshimitsu fell, later became a popular Japanese tourist spot.

CHINESE

1. 1st Battalion, 212th Regiment, 106th Brigade, 36th Division
2. 3rd Company, 42nd AA Machine-Gun Regiment
3. 956th Regiment (Cai), 478th Brigade, 160th Division, LXVI Corps
4. 288th Regiment (Cao), 144th Brigade, 48th Division, 2nd Army Group
5. 302nd Regiment (Cheng), 151st Brigade, 51st Division, LXXIV Corps
6. 103rd Brigade (Dai), 57th Division (River)
7. 5th Regiment (Deng), 3rd Brigade, Demonstration Corps
8. 41st Division (Ding), 2nd Army Group
9. 58th Division (Feng), LXXIV Corps
10. 241st Regiment (Fu), 121st Brigade, 41st Division
11. 264th Brigade (Gao), 88th Division, LXXII Corps
12. Gui Brigade, Demonstration Corps
13. 2nd Brigade (less elements) (Hu), Demonstration Corps
14. 301st Regiment (Ji), 153rd Brigade, 51st Division, LXXIV Corps
15. 156th Division (Li), LXXXIII Corps
16. 3rd Regiment (Li), 2nd Brigade, Demonstration Corps
17. 256th Regiment (Meng), 123rd Brigade, 41st Division
18. 283rd Regiment (Niu), 142nd Brigade, 48th Division, 2nd Army Group
19. 1st Platoon, 3rd Company, 1st Tank Battalion
20. 306th Regiment (Qiu), 153rd Brigade, 51st Division, LXXIV Corps
21. 87th Division (Shen), LXXI Corps
22. Signal Battalion, Demonstration Corps
23. 36th Division (Song), LXXVIII Corps
24. 51st Division (main body) (Wang), LXXIV Corps
25. 51st Division (Wang), LXXIV Corps
26. 154th Division (Wu), LXXXIII Corps
27. MP Brigade (Xiao) (temporary)
28. 48th Division (Xu), 2nd Army Group
29. LXVI Corps (Ye)
30. 245th Regiment (Yu), 123rd Brigade, 41st Division
31. 242nd Regiment (Zhao), 121st Brigade, 41st Division
32. 284th Regiment (Zhao), 144th Brigade, 48th Division, 2nd Army Group
33. 305th Regiment (Zhang), 153rd Brigade, 51st Division, LXXIV Corps
34. 262nd Brigade (Zhu), 88th Division, LXXII Corps



EVENTS

1. The Japanese 6th and 114th divisions attack from the south, clashing with the Chinese LXXIV Corps entrenched on Cow Head Hill and General Hill.

2. The IJA's 9th Division approaches Nanjing from the south-west, but is held up by the Chinese 51st Division's stubborn defence.

3. The IJA's 16th Division attacks from the east and clashes with the Chinese Demonstration Corps at Purple Hill; elements of the Division circle north and race towards the Yangtze crossings.

4. The Japanese 38th Regiment and Yamada's Detachment race along the southern banks of the Yangtze to reach Nanjing from the north.

5. The Kunisaki Detachment blocks the Chinese forces from escaping west.

6. The IJN completes its envelopment after overcoming the mines and block-ships in the Yangtze.

7. The Japanese commit 413 pieces of artillery (with calibres from 75mm to 240mm) to Nanjing, not including smaller-calibre weapons such as mortars and AA guns. In comparison, the entire Chinese garrison has only 40 field guns. Allocated to the LXXIV Corps are four 75mm field guns and 40 82mm mortars.

8. Covered by a tank platoon and two cannon, the Chinese 305th, 301st and 306th regiments and the rest of the 51st Division withdraw to secondary positions by the Qinhuai River.

9. The Chinese 58th Division also retreats to the Qinhuai River.

10. The Chinese 2nd Army Group's 41st and 48th divisions withdraw from forward positions to Xianhe Guan Hill.

11. Almost annihilated, the Chinese LXVI Corps withdraws into Nanjing city and plays no further part in the battle.

12. Chinese forces withdraw to the Fukuo Line. With only four 75mm mountain guns and 20 82mm mortars, the 264th Regiment, 88th Brigade is pounded on Flower Drop Rise, while the 262nd Brigade defends behind the City Wall. By the end, both brigade officers, three regimental officers, fourteen battalion officers and 80 per cent of the company commanders are dead.

13. The Chinese 87th Division withdraws into the city.

14. The Chinese 154th and 156th divisions, LXXXIII Corps, lick their wounds in Nanjing after being withdrawn from the north.

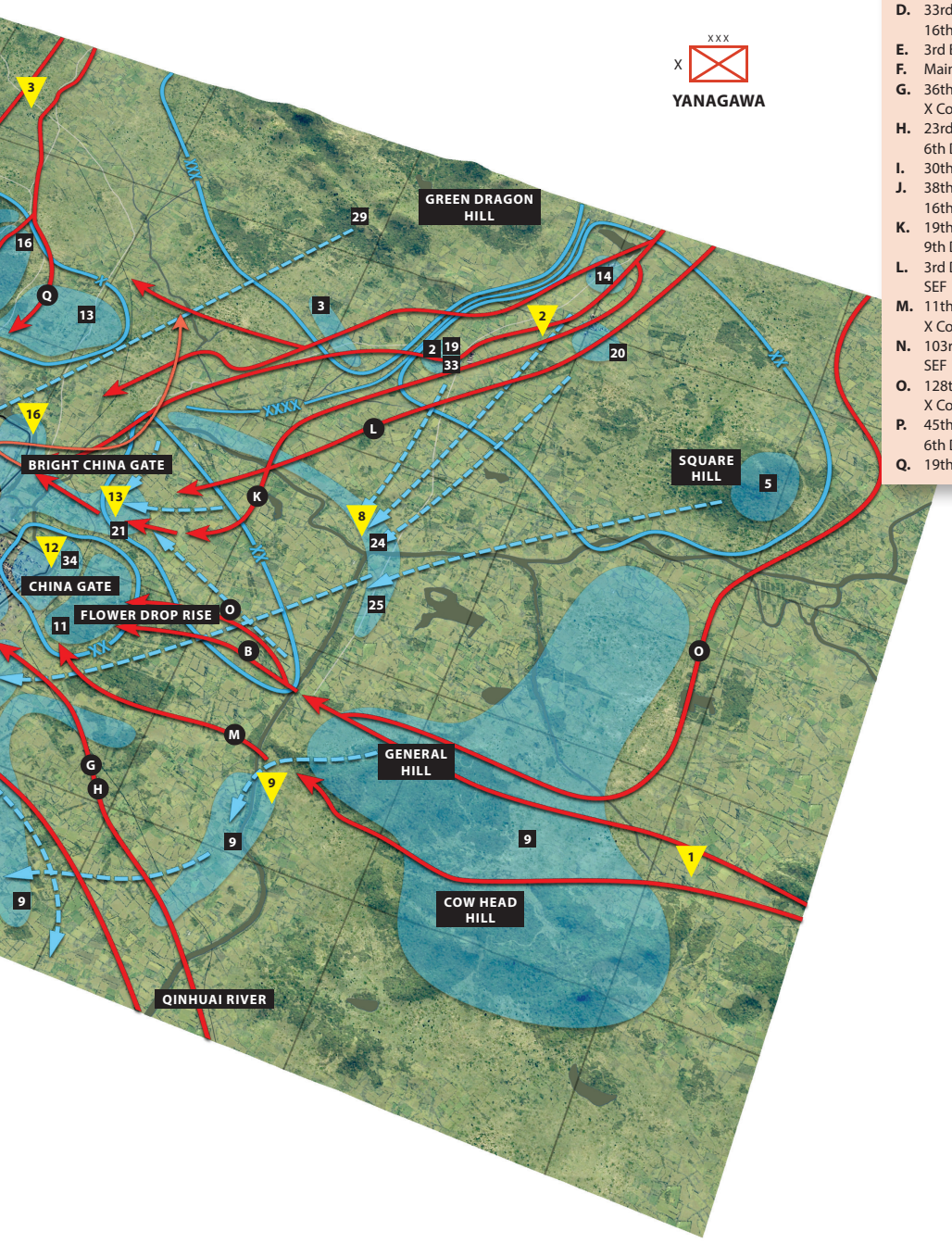
15. The Chinese 103rd Division, previously at Zhenjiang Fort, withdraws to Nanjing and comes under the control of the Demonstration Corps, defending the Zhongshan Gate.

16. The Chinese LXXIV Corps retreats to the outer sector of the western wall, together with the ad-hoc MP Brigade; they will fight until the Chinese capitulation.

17. On the morning of 13 December, General Tang Shengzhi orders the evacuation of Nanjing. Unit discipline collapses. Word fails to reach the Yijiang Gate's guards, a battalion from the 212nd Regiment; they fail to open the gate, resulting in many deaths.

18. The Chinese 41st and 48th regiments escape the chaos at the Yijiang Gate by ignoring the order and cross the Yangtze directly from Black Dragon Hill.

19. After the fall of Nanjing on 15 December, the Japanese 9th, 19th and 38th regiments are withdrawn for 'mopping-up' operations outside the city, a euphemism for mass killing.


Note: gridlines are shown at intervals of 5km (3.1 miles)
N
XXX
X
YANAGAWA
GREEN DRAGON HILL
BRIGHT CHINA GATE
CHINA GATE
FLOWER DROP RISE
SQUARE HILL
GENERAL HILL
COW HEAD HILL
QINHUAI RIVER
JAPANESE
A. Advance elements, IJN Squadron
B. 127th Brigade (Akiyama), 114th Division, X Corps
C. 9th Regiment (Katagiri), 19th Brigade, 16th Division, SEF
D. 33rd Regiment (Kengo), 30th Brigade, 16th Division, SEF
E. 3rd Brigade (Kunisaki), X Corps
F. Main body, IJN Squadron
G. 36th Brigade (Mitsuru), 6th Division, X Corps
H. 23rd Regiment (Okamoto), 36th Brigade, 6th Division, X Corps
I. 30th Brigade (Sasaki), 16th Division, SEF
J. 38th Regiment (Seiji), 30th Brigade, 16th Division, SEF
K. 19th Regiment (Shuzo), 18th Brigade, 9th Division, SEF
L. 3rd Division (advance elements) (Tani), SEF
M. 11th Brigade (Tokutaro), 6th Division, X Corps
N. 103rd Brigade (Yamada), 13th Division, SEF
O. 128th Brigade (Yasuo), 114th Division, X Corps
P. 45th Regiment (Yoshiharu), 36th Brigade, 6th Division, X Corps
Q. 19th Brigade (Kusaba), 16th Division, SEF

THE BATTLE OF NANJING, 8–15 DECEMBER 1937

The Japanese were banking on the Chinese capitulating after the fall of their capital. Instead, the massacres which took place made the Chinese even more determined to fight on.

1st Battalion's commanding officer Totoki Kazuhiko 十時和彦: No. 1 and 3 companies, supported by a platoon of engineers, was to launch a night attack, placing explosives at the foot of the wall and then rushing the gap caused by the explosion. Leading the attack was a hand-picked group of 11 commandos that included Private 1st Class Hatta. On that section of the wall were men from the Chinese 306th Regiment (51st Division) and to their right was the 302nd Regiment (also of the 51st). The latter unit was leaderless on account of the death of Colonel Cheng Zhi 程智. Despite being beaten back several times when Chinese Military Police arrived as reinforcements, the IJA still managed to rush the gap caused by the detonation and penetrated the city. In a moment of ecstasy, Captain Kagawa Katsuma 加川勝馬, the commanding officer of No. 3 Company, believed that he had made history by being the first into Nanjing, but his joy was later dampened by the news that the 47th Regiment had beaten him to it by less than 30 minutes.

THE COLLAPSE AND MASSACRES

By 12 December, the Chinese had been under continuous bombardment for almost four days; cracks were beginning to appear. Almost at the same time as the China and Bright China gates fell, the Zhongshan Gate was breached by the Japanese 16th Division and the Yamada Detachment took Mufu Hill. The end of the struggle for the Chinese had arrived, and Tang was finally facing up to the fact that he could do no more. Chiang finally gave the permission to withdraw after three days of dithering; he still hoped that last-minute mediation by the German ambassador Oskar Trautmann, who had been shuttling between Tokyo and Nanjing since August, might save the day. Sensing total victory, the Japanese kept on shifting the goalposts, which led to the collapse of any hope of a ceasefire. On the night of the 12th, the plan

Dogfight over Nanjing by Tanabe Itaru 田邊至. Purple Hill can be seen in the rear, with Xianwu Lake and the moat clearly visible. (Author's collection)

The Yijiang Gate in 2015, looking back towards the city. The gate was destroyed during the war and was later rebuilt. (Author's collection)

was for the Chinese garrison to make a mass breakout to the west and south. Tang's written withdrawal plan was complex, and adding to the confusion were conflicting verbal instructions that seemed to contradict his original orders. Soon news leaked that Nanjing was to be abandoned. While some fled without awaiting formal orders, others, like the 36th Division, never received theirs. Under heavy pressure for many days, military discipline was breaking down. Many formations, notably the 51st, 58th, 87th and 88th divisions as well as Military Police units, began streaming towards Xiaguan Pier. Like many of the city gates, the Yijaing Gate was a bottleneck with only a narrow gap for passage. This not only controlled exit from the city but also entry to it, stopping many of the units that were outside the city from gaining access as their positions collapsed. The 87th Division, which was fighting a desperate battle at the Bright China Gate, heard that Military Police were blocking all traffic into the city; their fighting spirit immediately collapsed as this ridiculous order even prevented access to the city hospital. Tang's intention in blocking access was to stiffen the resolve of his troops, which, he knew, were weary of fighting after taking a beating in Shanghai. To further back this up, he corralled all available boats into quarantine to prevent desertion to the west bank.

By noon of the 12th, the rush was on; a panicking, uncontrollable crowd soon formed at the Yijiang Gate with horrific consequences. People were squashed and trampled to death. Having survived the battle, Colonel Xie Chengrui did not survive the crush; his lifeless body was later found at the foot of the Yijiang Gate, every bone in his body broken. Guarding the Yijiang Gate was a battalion from the 36th Division, under orders to 'let no one through'; these stubborn guards shot into the crowd, killing countless numbers. While regional troops broke, the Germanized formations such as the DC, 36th, 51st, 58th, 87th and 88th divisions by and large held themselves together, breaking out in formation to reach predestined rendezvous points, albeit with heavy casualties. By this time, basic services

Japanese Type 94 tankettes from the No.2 and No. 6 Independent Light Armoured companies assaulting the China Gate in Nanjing, 12 December 1937. (Getty Images 548800015)

had broken down in the city; there was no electricity and telephone services, and the sanitary situation had become a problem as bombardment had destroyed the infrastructure, compounding the problem in a fast-collapsing city with a crumbling army. In the middle stood the citizens, the poor, the immobile, those not well connected, left behind by the hordes of refugees that had already departed.

Thousands of scared Chinese and soldiers were all converging at the western exits of the city, all of which were blocked. Panic set in; the roads were littered with soldiers' uniforms and webbing, as they desperately attempted to transform themselves into civilians – the IJA's reputation regarding prisoners was well known after four months of combat. Just after lunch on the 13th, the first formations of the IJA (the 38th Regiment and 8th Independent Light Armoured Company) reached Xiaguan Pier. The gunboats of the 11th Combat Division, followed by the main force of destroyers (HIJMS *Yamakaze* 山風, *Kawakaze* 江風, *Susukaze* 涼風 and *Umikaze* 海風), arrived at Xiaguan, spearheaded by minesweepers. By that time, the river was full of refugees and routed Chinese soldiers; they were slaughtered by the IJN one by one. That night, Nanjing fell.

General Matsui's orders for Nanjing specifically highlighted the need to preserve peace on winning Nanjing. He had forbidden his men from using heavy artillery, to prevent any damage to historical sites. The behaviour of his troops, many of whom were poorly disciplined reservists, was a concern, such that Matsui tacked a lengthy addendum onto the comprehensive operational orders and instructed each of his divisions to only allow one of their regiments into the city itself in order to reduce the Japanese army's contact with Chinese civilians. Matsui also reminded all his subordinates that criminal acts like looting or arson would be severely punished. Ultimately, Matsui's orders were disobeyed. The ancient walls were pounded to smithereens. Furthermore, Prince Asaka countermanded Matsui's instruction concerning 'keeping order and preserve peace' with specific instructions to 'dispose of' all prisoners. The concern over 'security measures' may have inadvertently contributed to the

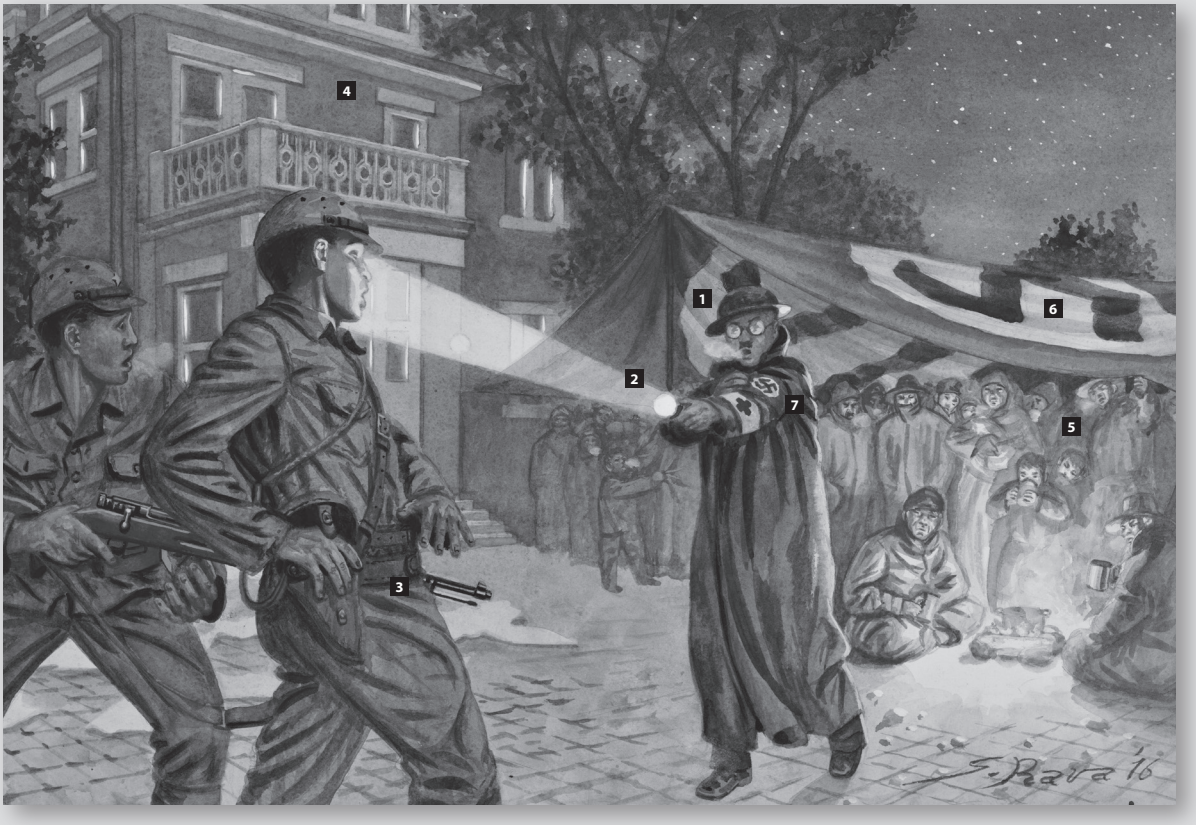
ferocity of the killings in the early stages of the occupation of Nanjing. Many of the large-scale massacres that took place within Nanjing occurred in the days immediately following the initial entry into the city.

On 17 December, at precisely 1400hrs, General Matsui Iwane and Lieutenant-General Prince Asaka Yasuhiko, accompanied by Vice Admiral Hasegawa Kiyoshi, entered Nanjing via Zhongshan Gate ahead of a triumphal parade through Nanjing. The Japanese assembled 20,000 troops for the event. Soon after, Matsui reprimanded the assembled IJA officers for the atrocities that had taken place in Nanjing; but he was in ill health and had to return to Shanghai. Prince Asaka ignored Matsui's reprimand, and the atrocities continued under imperial sanction.

Indiscriminate killings, including those of women, children and the elderly, were often carried out in the most bestial manner. Killing occurred almost everywhere, both inside and outside the city. Mass rape, looting and wanton destruction took place; in some districts of Nanjing, 99.2 per cent of all the buildings were destroyed. The best way to illustrate this depravity is to highlight one episode, the case of the Yamada Detachment. The personal diary of Major-General Yamada dated 14 December recalled this particular incident. In the battle for Mufu Hill, due to the rapid collapse of the Chinese defences after General Tang ordered the general withdrawal, the Yamada Detachment was faced with the mass surrender of Chinese troops. All in all, Yamada had some 14,777 POWs in his hands; given the lack of resources to cater for such large numbers of captives, he asked his superiors for instructions. He sent his aide, the junior cavalry officer 2nd Lieutenant Honma 本間, to check with the divisional HQ in Nanjing, but he was told in no specific terms 'kill all captives'. By the 16th, his horde of prisoners had increased to 17,025; again, on the 17th, he raised the same issue with Prince Asaka, dispatching Lieutenant-Colonel Aida 相田 to SEF HQ, but he received the same answer as Honma. Under the instruction of General Yamada, the 65th Regiment was tasked with the killing. Captives were tied up with wire, led out to a patch of riverbank just south

Two captured Chinese PzKpfw I tanks at Xiaguan Pier. (Author's collection)

S. Rava '16



THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE NANJING SAFETY ZONE (PP. 80–81)

Despite the danger, a handful of Westerners chose to stay behind to help the people of Nanjing. Notable among these were John Rabe (**1**) (a German), and the Americans Minnie Vautrin, Dr R. O. Wilson, Rev. John Magee, Dr Miner Bates, Dr Lewis Smyth, and Rev. E. H. Forester. These people and others helped protect more than 300,000 citizens against the horrific acts committed by the Imperial Japanese Army, despite incredible difficulties. Although the rights of the International Committee for the Nanjing Safety Zone were guaranteed by the Japanese embassy, the IJA chose not to heed this.

Rabe's diary entry of 19 December 1937 records: '6:00 PM. Six Japanese climbed over my garden wall and attempted to open the gates from the inside. When I arrived and shone my flashlight [**2**] in the face of one of the bandits, he reached for his pistol [**3**] but dropped it quickly enough when I yelled at him and held my swastika armband under his nose. Then, on my orders, all six scrambled back over the wall. My gates will never be opened to riffraff like that.'

Rabe's home (**4**) housed some 650 men, women and children, the young and the old (**5**). In his garden was a makeshift tent made from a huge swastika flag (**6**) to shelter those seeking refuge. The swastika flag had previously warned off Japanese bombing raids on his property. Later, Rabe wrote: 'The Japanese had pistols and bayonets. I had only … my swastika arm-band' (**7**) – probably one of the rare occasions where the Nazi symbol saved lives.

The other members of the International Committee for the Nanjing Safety Zone were J. M. Hansen (Danish), J. Lean (American), Iver Mackay (British), Rev. W. P. Mills (American), P. H. Munro-Faure (British), J. V. Pickering (American), Charles Riggs (American), G. Schultze-Pantin (German), P. R. Shields (British), Edward Sperling (German), Dr C. S. Trimmer (American) and Dr George Fitch (American).

of Mufu Hill, and mowed down by three machine guns perched on separate wooden platforms. The bodies were burned and pushed into the river, but with so many and a low-flowing river during the winter months, many accumulated on the banks like pebbles. The scene was described in this eyewitness account by Japanese Private Ohara Koutarou 小原孝太郎, 4th Quartermaster Section, 2nd Platoon, No. 4 Company, 16th Regiment, 4th Division:

> At 0800 I set forth to Nanjing Docks to get the horses fed. As I was walking along the river embankment, I happened to look down. I saw tumbling in the river an innumerable number of corpses, like logs being pushed along by the waves. On the shore were piles of corpses stretching into the distance as far as you could see. There must have been thousands if not tens of thousands, in any case a huge number. (Diary entry for 24 December 1937)

For the men of the Yamada Detachment, the butchery continued unabated until the evening of the 19th. While these killings were going on in earnest, IJA troops were cheering '*Banzai!*' at the city gates, their happy faces recorded for posterity by the many embedded Japanese journalists. The citizens of Tokyo lit fish-shaped lanterns and streamed celebratory bunting, but little did they know that a terrible massacre was being conducted in the name of the emperor. Some isolated fighting continued, with many Chinese preferring to die fighting, as did mopping-up operations both inside and outside the city wall. Three regiments – the 33rd, 38th (both of 16th Division) and 7th (9th Division) – were responsible for many of the killings within the city walls, and the rest of the 9th Division was handling the killing of captives on the outside. The killing was conducted with the utmost efficiency. The 11th Company of only 180 men commanded by Captain Nakano Toshikazu 中野寿一 (3rd Battalion, 7th Regiment) killed as many as 1,700 captives in one day; in total, the 7th Regiment killed some 7,000 'Chinese soldiers', a fact proudly recorded in the war diaries of the 9th Division. Many of these so-called 'soldiers' included every young man of military age, policemen, tax collectors – in fact anyone looking like they could be a soldier, even those in civilian dress. All men were suspected of being 'guerrilla fighters'. The fear of revenge by the Chinese was so great that any Chinese male who happened to be in Nanjing during those dark days of December was living on a knife edge.

The race among Japanese officers to 'decapitate 100 enemy troops' was headline news in the Japanese press. Second lieutenants Tsuyoshi Noda (105 decapitations) and (later Capt.) Toshiaki Mukai (106 decapitations) would later account for their crimes. The images below show them in Sugamo Prison, Tokyo prior to their extradition to China, trial and execution. (Nanjing Massacre Museum)

While most of the stories concerning barbaric slaughter usually centred on Nanjing, in fact the killing of civilians and POWs had started almost right at the beginning of the Shanghai campaign. In the area north of Shanghai where the fighting was fiercest, like the towns of Luodian, Dachang and Baoshan, massacres had already occurred, albeit on a smaller scale than at Nanjing. The *History of Baoshan Country* records a massacre of 2,244 people in Luojing village 罗泾镇, and in Jinshanwei, where the IJA's X Corps had landed back in November, 2,933 villagers killed or buried alive. The killing of captives began with some form of collective action, but it soon became a kind of individual sport. Two Japanese subalterns, in a kind of high-spirited antic between junior officers, chose decapitation as a theme, mimicking a Maharaja on a safari hunting expedition: 2nd Lieutenant

The American missionary Minnie Vautrin, whose gravestone is shown here, was described as the 'Goddess of Nanjing' for her role in protecting thousands of refugees. (Nanjing Massacre Museum)

Tsuyoshi Noda 野田毅 (the adjutant from the 3rd Battalion, 9th Regiment, 16th Division) and 2nd Lieutenant Toshiaki Mukai 向井敏明 (the battalion infantry gun troop commander) became infamous when their killing contest made headline news in two Japanese newspapers, the Osaka *Mainichi Shimbun* and the Tokyo *Nichi Nichi Shimbun*. Each bet the other that they could be the fastest to decapitate 100 people using their samurai swords as they raced towards Nanjing. As if 100 was not enough, Lieutenant Tanaka Gunkichi 田中軍吉, the commanding officer of No. 12 Company (3rd Regiment, 45th Brigade, 6th Division), outshone both by killing more than 300 using only his sword. The killing of captives had become a kind of regimental sport of the most obscene kind.

While the majority of people fled from the doomed city of Nanjing, John Rabe, a senior manager at the Siemens company and a minor official in the Nazi Party, chose to stay, as did many brave foreigners like the American doctor Robert Wilson, the missionary John Magee and Minnie Vautrin, among others. With the help of other foreign businessmen of mixed nationalities (including Danes, Germans, British and Americans), Rabe formed a demilitarized area, known as the Nanjing International Safety Zone under his chairmanship. In this area of just under 1.5 square miles (slightly bigger than New York's Central Park) as many as 200,000 (some even claimed as many as 250,000) people were sheltering in various camps, including one in the grounds of Rabe's own house. In his diary entry dated 24 December 1937, Rabe wrote:

> I cannot leave my house unguarded without running the risk that marauding soldiers will break into it. It was my firm belief that about 350 to 400 refugees had found asylum with me. After an exact head count by Mr. Han, it now

Victorious Japanese troops celebrate on Nanjing's ancient wall. (Getty Images 141551604)

> turns out that a total of 602 people are camping in my garden (with its 5,500 square feet), my office, etc.: 302 males and 300 females, including 126 children under ten years of age. One child is only two months old. Not included in this census are 14 Servants and employees of the firm plus their families, so that the total number probably comes to about 650.

In fact, the Safety Zone was not safe at all. Often, Japanese troops intruded into the zone to search for 'combatants'; in one case, the Japanese herded some 1,300 disarmed solders from the zone for execution, despite protests by Rabe and assurances from the Japanese embassy officials that the neutrality of the zone would be respected. Young women from the Ginling Women's College were particularly vulnerable, as they were often targeted for rape. Mopping up and executions continued throughout January and February 1938, albeit on a smaller scale. News of the massacres was immediately reported in the USA, although many refused to believe it. A smuggled-out testament from an eyewitness reached the desk of the Earl of Halifax, the British Foreign Secretary, who ordered a cover-up. However, the Japanese denied that any massacres were taking place. In March 1938, Tokyo radio-flashed the following message to the world:

> Hoodlums responsible for so many deaths and such destruction of property in Nanjing have been captured and executed. They were found to be discontented soldiers from Chiang Kaishek's brigades. Now all is quiet and the Japanese army is feeding 300,000 refugees.

The total encirclement was complete, not only the capture of Pukou 浦口 on the west bank of the Yangtze, but also further inland to Chuzhou 滁州 – previously known as Chu County, which sits on the railway line to northern China – by 20 December. To secure the southern flank, the city of Hangzhou 杭州 was captured on Christmas Eve by elements of the X Corps without any major fighting, as the Chinese withdrew ahead of the advancing Japanese. The Greater Yangtze Basin was in Japanese hands.

The Japanese had achieved a tactical victory, but had not achieved their greater strategic aims. Despite losing the capital and most of her best soldiers, China's will to fight remained. The resilience of the Chinese dragged Japan into a quagmire, something which Japanese strategic thinkers dreaded. Her increasing dependence on resources to fuel the war in China eventually led Japan to expand the war into resource-rich South-East Asia.

John Rabe (third from the left) and some of the members of the Nanjing Safety Committee. To the right is Rabe's Siemens business card. (Rabe House Museum)

AFTERMATH

The entire Shanghai and Nanjing campaign was a tactical disaster for the Chinese. Chiang lost most of his best and most able troops, including at least 16 generals, as well as the nation's capital and Shanghai, a main commercial centre. Knowing that the Chinese army in 1937 was not ready to fight the Japanese militarily, like the Soviets in 1941, Chiang traded time for casualties and placed his hope on diplomatic means to pressure the Japanese. Chiang's meddling style of leadership and interference in military operations contributed to a loss greater than was necessary; the Chinese could have fought a delaying action, according to German-inspired strategy, and withdrawn earlier. While China burned, the West, on whom China had pinned so much hope for rescue, did not come to its aid; instead, it was the Soviet Union that extended a helping hand, although not as far as Chiang would have liked. Helping China also helped the Soviet Union, as it was in Stalin's interest to keep the Japanese stuck in the Chinese quagmire as long as possible. Soviet help continued until mid-1941, when the Soviet Union was itself attacked by Hitler.

The Japanese hawks who urged an enlargement of the war to Nanjing were banking on the idea that Chinese resistance would collapse and Chiang would be overthrown or resign. In fact, Chiang Kaishek did not surrender,

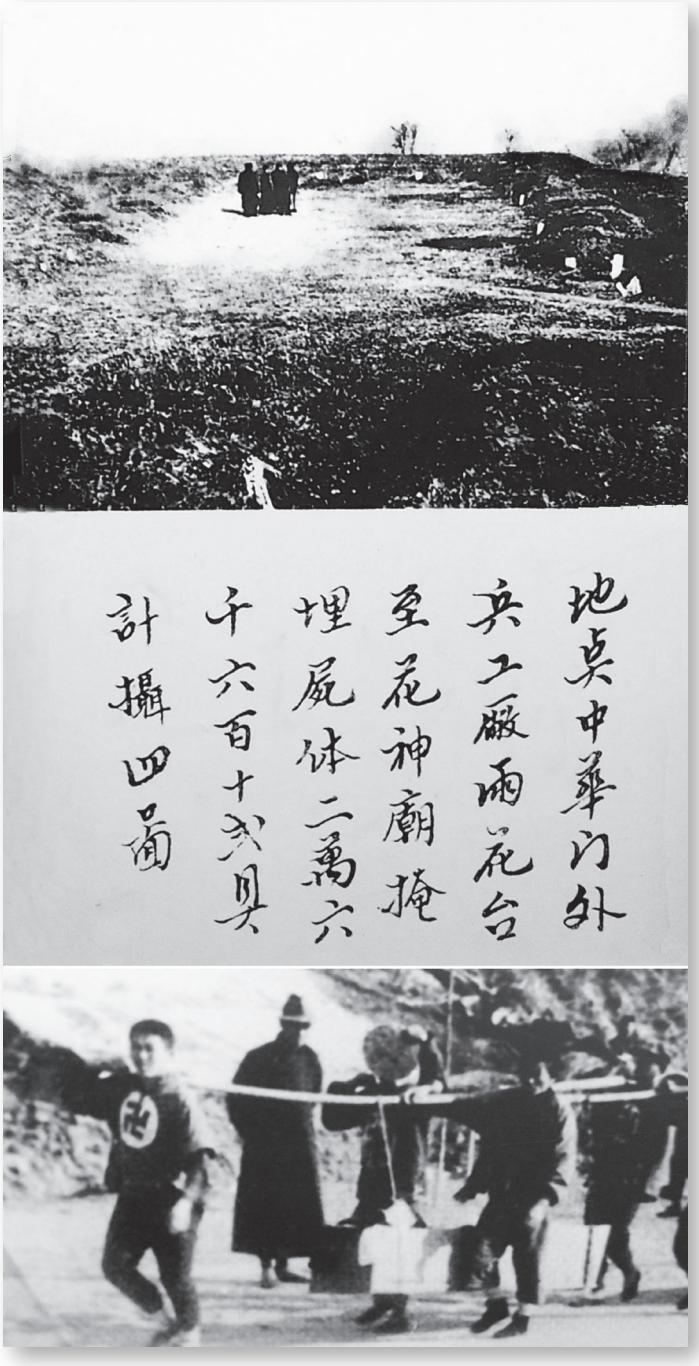
After the battle: Japanese soldiers patrol a destroyed Nanjing. (Nanjing Massacre Museum)

Azuma Shiro 東 史郎 (1912–2006 – with white hair and spectacles) was a former IJA soldier who admitted his participation in the Nanjing Massacre. He returned to China many times to apologize. His wartime diary was first published in English in 2006. (Nanjing Massacre Museum)

but fought on even more resolutely. Faced with such a barbaric enemy, the squabbles amongst the different factions in China were temporarily set aside; even the nationalists' arch enemy, the CCP, decided to join forces against the Japanese. Instead of Japan overcoming China, China became more united and resolute, a gross strategic miscalculation on the part of the belligerent Japanese. Nor did the Chinese army just collapse; just four months after the loss of Nanjing, the Chinese won a major victory in Tai'erzhuang 台儿庄, proving that in the right circumstances the Chinese army could win. In January 1938, the Japanese generals in China were determined to fight on, disregarding the Tokyo headquarters' policy for a one-year truce after the fall of Nanjing; in fact, the IJA would still be fighting in 1945, with no end in sight. After the fall of Nanjing, but unable to defeat Chiang, Tokyo choose to derecognize Chiang as legitimate leader of China and supported a Japanese-friendly regime based in Nanjing, headed by Chiang's rival and deputy leader of the KMT, Wang Jingwei 汪精卫. A new ROC headed by Wang was founded in March 1940, but his name has become a byword for 'traitor' in China, similar to 'Quisling' in Europe.

The Dane Bernhard Arp Sindberg (shown here) and Dr Karl Gunther (his German boss) together protected 20,000 Chinese in Jiangnan Cement Factory.

The Chinese had committed between 700,000 and 750,000 troops, including air force and navy personnel, to the conflict, resulting in 187,200 dead according to a report dated 5 November 1937 to the War Council. The estimated number of injured was 83,500, giving a total of 270,700. Normally the figure for wounded would be higher than deaths, but in this case, the poor state of medical services of the Chinese and



The Chinese inscription in the middle reads: 'In this quadrangle [shown in the top photo] lie 26,612 bodies from the area between China Gate, the Arsenal, Flower Drop Rise to Flower God Temple'. Bottom: a Chinese charitable burial party. (Nanjing Massacre Museum)

the constant urge to 'fight to the death' may have propelled this figure to an unnatural level. Official Japanese war records show Japanese casualties for the SEF up to 8 November as 40,672 (of whom 9,115 were killed, which seems unreasonably low); however, this figure does not include the sick, the repatriated and those who died because of injuries. General Matsui's speech in 1938 mentioned upwards of 18,000, and with new data available the best revised estimates have risen to *c.*17,000 combat deaths plus about 1,800 illness-induced deaths, making a total of almost 19,000 deaths. In addition, there were 35,000–40,000 wounded and 40,000 sick, giving a total casualty rate of between 93,000 and 99,000. Given that the total size of the SEF was *c.*300,000, this represents a percentage loss of 31–33 per cent for the Japanese and 36–39 per cent for the Chinese in three months of combat.

About 300,000 died in the battle for Nanjing, with a third of these falling within the city confines. The remaining 90,000 were faced with a choice: how and where to break out. A few diehards refused to run and continued to fight until they were wiped out. The best guess is that some 44,000 managed to break out. This meant that around 46,000 were captured and were most likely all killed in the massacres, a figure confirmed by SEF's Deputy Chief of Staff Colonel Uemura Toshimichi 上村利道 in his war diary dated 16 December 1937 (40,000 plus Chinese prisoners, but not exceeding 50,000). A few, especially the senior Chinese officers, stayed behind and managed to hide, escaping in disguise in late 1937 or early 1938. The IJA committed seven divisions (about 100,000 men) to the battle and suffered 26,000 casualties (X Corps' losses alone from 6 November to 17 December were 18,000 men), about a quarter of its manpower. The IJN suffered 624 dead and 876 injured. By comparison, Chinese losses stood at 63 per cent.

According to the 1936 census, Nanjing's population stood at 945,544. By November 1937, the population had dropped to 547,000, with 379,000 within the old city walls. Many of these civilians were to perish in the

ABOVE RIGHT
Captives held by the Yamada Detachment on 16 December.

ABOVE LEFT
These men would later be killed and their bodies dumped into the Yangtze. (Nanjing Massacre Museum)

massacres, a controversial subject still much debated today. The Chinese insisted all along that deaths stood at 300,000. This figure, lodged in the records of the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal, was often denied by some Japanese, in a campaign of denial and massaging of the facts led by the ultra-conservatives since the ending of the war. Palliation of this shameful affair has been going on for years; the 'China war' is now known commonly as the 'China Incident'. The increasingly vocal call to repudiate the Nanjing Massacre has made this event a thorn in the relationship between China and Japan. Like the two-minute silence on Armistice Day, 13 December is now marked as the Chinese National Day of Remembrance, and for two minutes the air-raid sirens howl throughout Nanjing.

Many of the perpetrators of the war crimes in China, especially in Nanjing, were not punished. Yamada Senji lived to 93, and Prince Asaka escaped prosecution by order of General MacArthur, as by the late 1940s concern was more focused on the rise of communism in China than Japanese militarism. In fact, recently declassified CIA documents have shown that there was even a plan to use former IJA soldiers (including war criminals) to form an anti-communist force to fight the Chinese Reds. Lieutenant-General Cho Isamu 長勇, the aide-de-camp to Prince Asaka and famous for his ultra-nationalist views, committed suicide before his war crimes trial ended; Lieutenant-General Yanagawa Heisuke of X Corps and Lieutenant-General Nakajima Kesago of the 16th Division (who doubled up as Operations Officer to Prince Asaka) all died before sentencing. Only General Matsui Iwane, Lieutenant-General Tani Hisao and the three subalterns who directly engaged in the decapitation competition went to the gallows for their crimes. While Prince Asaka's responsibility for the Nanjing Massacre is clear, in his defence he said the sanction for the massacre and the crimes committed during the invasion of China might ultimately be found in the ratification, made on 5 August 1937 by Emperor Hirohito, of the proposition that the Japanese army remove the constraints of international law on the treatment of Chinese prisoners. Like his uncle, Hirohito lived a long life, and was never brought to account for the war launched under his reign.

THE BATTLEFIELD TODAY

The IJNSLF barracks in Shanghai, then (above) and now (below). Today it serves as a military facility, although the courtyard part can be entered as it contains a one-star hotel and restaurant. (Author's collection)

Modern Shanghai and Nanjing are very different to their forms during the fighting of 1937. However, parts of the battlefields remain almost untouched. The Joint Trust Warehouse Museum was renovated for the 70th anniversary of the ending of World War II. It can be reached by Metro Line 8 or 12 exiting Qufu Road Station. The Songhu Campaign Memorial Hall, as the battle of Shanghai is known in Chinese, is located at 1 Youyi Road, the site of the Wusong battery; sadly nothing remains of the battery. The museum can be reached by Metro Line 3, exiting Youyi Road Station, then a short ride by taxi. In Wusong Battery Park, just south of the war museum, are some old 1950s guns. To reach the park, take Metro Line 3 alighting at Baoyang Road Station. The Great World Amusement Centre, Peace Hotel and Sincere Department Store, where great losses to civilian lives took place, remain the same as they were in 1937.

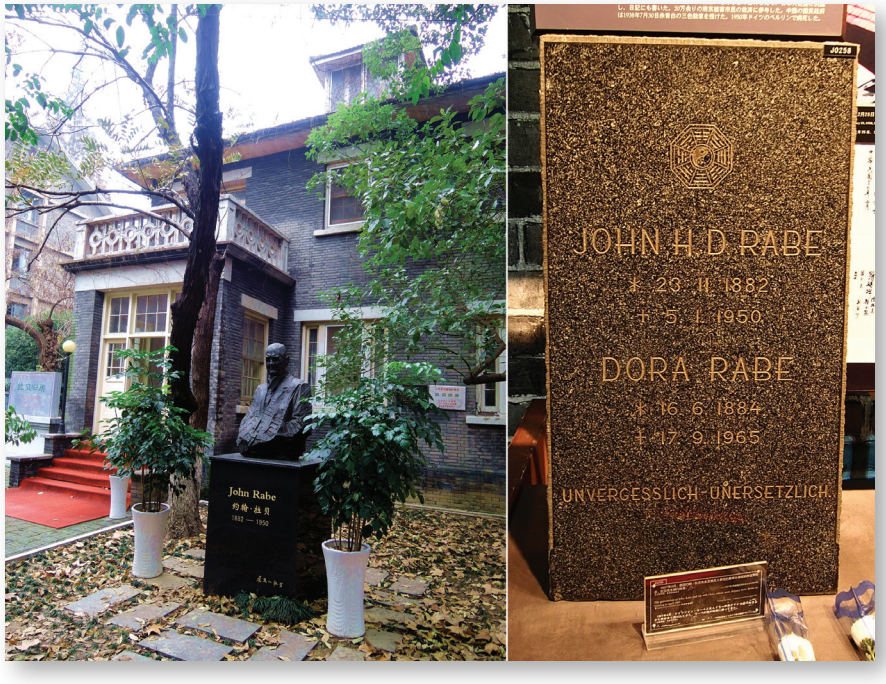
In Nanjing, a section of the ancient city wall still stands, including the Yijiang Gate, and Xiaguan Pier can be reached by Metro Line 5 or 9. The China Gate is as impressive as ever (Metro Line 1, Zhonghua Men), and the Nanjing Massacre Museum (Metro Line 2, Yunjin Road) has been refurbished and is well worth a visit. Within the museum is a mass grave of victims of the massacres. Within Nanjing, there are 19 plaques to mark the sites of particular massacres, amongst which are Qingling Hill, Yijiang Gate and Ginling Women's College.

Rabe's House (Metro Line 1, Zhujiang Road, 1 Xiaofen Qiao, north-west corner of Guangzhou and

Zhongshan Road) has been transformed into a museum, a memorial to his brave deeds; at the back of the house is his air-raid shelter. Purple Mountain (Zijin shan) is one of the top sights of Nanjing, with Sun Yatsen's Mausoleum as the main attraction; pillboxes can still be found if you venture out a bit. On the north side is the Memorial to the Aviator Martyrs (289 Jiang Huangmiao Street) which contains the names of all the aviators that died in the fighting against the Japanese, including 236 Soviet pilots. Off the beaten track are the remnants of the Jiangning batteries; the best preserved are those at Tiger Hill (just south of Mufu Hill, by Shangyuan Men, Metro Line 3) and Qingliang Hill. Museums are generally closed on Monday in China and all museums (except for the China Gate) are free of charge.

TOP
The grave of Lieutenant-Colonel Xie Jinyuan.

BOTTOM
The headstone of Private McCowan of the Royal Ulster Rifles, one of three British troops killed in action in Shanghai. His original grave was destroyed. Both are located in the Memorial Garden on Hongqiao Road, Shanghai. (Author's collection)



John Rabe's house in Nanjing is now a museum. Much revered by the Chinese today, he and his wife Dora's gravestone is in Nanjing. Note the Yinyang symbol: Rabe may have converted to Chinese Taoism. (Author's collection)

Acronyms and abbreviations

AA	anti-aircraft
CAF	China Area Fleet
CCA	Central China Army
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CMB	coastal motor boat
CoGAS	Chief of General Army Staff
DC	Demonstration Corps
HARPO	Handelsgesellschaft zur Verwertung industrieller Produkte
HIJMS	His Imperial Japanese Majesty's Ship
HMG	heavy machine gun
IJA	Imperial Japanese Army
IJN	Imperial Japanese Navy
IJNLF	Imperial Japanese Navy Landing Force
IJNSLF	Imperial Japanese Navy Special Landing Force
KMT	Kuomintang, China's Nationalist Party
LMG	light machine gun
LN	League of Nations
LOE	Limit of Exploitation
MP	Military Police
POW	Prisoner of War
PPC	Peace Preservation Corps
RF	rapid fire
ROC	Republic of China
ROCAF	Republic of China Air Force
ROCN	Republic of China Navy
ROCNS	Republic of China Navy Ship
SEF	Shanghai Expeditionary Force
SG	Salt Gabelle
SMC	Shanghai Municipal Council
SVC	Shanghai Volunteer Corps
SVG	Soviet Volunteer Group

List of Japanese and Chinese names

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Kagawa Katsuma 加川勝馬
Kan'in Kotohito 閑院宮載仁親王
Kanoya Group 鹿屋
Kao Zhihang 高志航
Kizarazu Group 木更津
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Miao Chengliu 缪澂流
Mitsui Yanase 三井柳瀬
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Pan Wenhua 潘 文华
Rao Guohua 饶国华
Ruan Zhaochang 阮肇昌
Saito Yozo 斎藤与蔵
Sano Shigeshi 佐野重士
Shanggong Yunhsing 上宫雲相
Shangguan Zhibiao 上官志标
Shao Baichang 邵白昌
Shi Meihao 石美豪
Shibakita Akira 柴北明
Shigeto Chiaki 重藤千秋
Shigeto Detachment 重藤支队
Shimura Kikujiro 志村菊次郎
Shinichi Nitta 新田慎
Song Xilian 宋希濂
Suematsu Shigeharu 末松茂治
Sun Liren 孙立人
Sun Tonggang 孙桐岗
Sun Yatsen 孙逸仙
Sun Yuanliang 孙元良
Tadaharu Chiga 値賀忠治
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Tang Di 唐棣
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Totoki Kazuhiko 十時和彦
Toyada Soemu 豊田 副武
Tsukioka Torashige 月岡虎茂
Tsuyoshi Noda 野田毅
Uemura Toshimichi 上村利道
Ushijima Sado 牛岛贞雄
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Wan Yaohuang 万耀煌
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Wang Jingjiu 王敬久
Wang Jingwei 汪精卫
Wang Wenhua 王文骅
Wei Jianchen 魏建臣
Wei Yunsong 韦雲松
Wu Keren 吴克仁
Wu Qiwei 吴奇伟
Xiao Shanling 萧山令
Xiao Zhichu 萧之楚
Xie Chengrui 谢承瑞
Xie Jinyuan 谢晉元
Xiong Xinmin 熊新民

Xu Kang 许康
Xu Yuanquan 徐源泉
Xue Yue 薛岳
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Zhang Zhizhong 张治中
Zhao Guzhen 赵鹄振
Zhao Yan 周晏
Zhu Chi 朱赤
Zhu Shaoliang 朱绍良
Zhu Yaohua 朱耀华

Place names:
Baimaokou 白茆口
Baoshan town 宝山镇
Black Dragon Hill 乌龙山
Changshu city 常熟市
China Gate 中华门
Chongqing 重庆
Chuansha town 川沙镇
Chunhua town 淳化镇
Chuzhou 滁州
Cow's Head Hill 牛首山
Dachang town 大场镇
Dalian Hill 大连山
Danyang 丹阳
Dingzhun Gate 定准门
Dragon King Peak 龙王山
Flower Drop Rise 雨花台
Fukuo Line 复廓阵地
Fushan town 福山镇
Gaoqiao Gate 高桥门
Green Dragon/Qinglong Hill 青龙山
Guangchen town 广陈镇
Guangde 广德
Guangfu 广福
Guanghua/Bright China Gate 光华门
Haijia Line 海嘉线
Haiyan 海盐
Hanzhong Gate 汉中门
Hangzhou 杭州
Hangzhou Bay 杭州湾
Hankou 漢口
Hongqiao Aerodrome 虹桥机场
Huangpu River 黄浦江
Huzhou 湖州
Jiading 嘉定
Jiangning Fortress 江宁要塞
Jiangyin 江阴
Jianqiao Aerodrome筧桥
Jiashan 嘉善
Jiaxing 嘉兴
Jinshan town 金山城
Jinshanwei 金山卫
Jurong town 句容市
Kung-Ta 公达
Kunshan 昆山
Kunzi Line 昆支线
Lake Tai 太湖
Liuhang village 刘行
Liuhe 浏河
Longtan 龙潭
Luodian 罗店
Luojing village 罗泾镇
Maan Hill town 马鞍山市
Minhang 闵行
Mocheng town 莫城镇
Mufu Hill 幕府山
Nanjing 南京
Nanshi 南市
Nanxiang 南翔
Pinghu 平湖镇
Pudong 浦东
Pukou 浦口
Purple Hill 紫金 山
Qiaosi Airfield 乔司
Red Hill 红山
Seven Arch Bridge 七桥瓮
Sheshan 佘山
Shidongkou 石洞口
Shizhilin 狮子林 (Lion's Wood) Fort
Sian 泗安
Sihang Warehouse 四行仓库
Songjiang 松江
Square Hill 方山
Sujia Line 苏嘉线
Suzhou 苏州
Suzhou Creek 苏州河
Tai'erzhuang 台儿庄
Taiping/Peace Gate 太平门
Tang Mountain 汤山
Tangshui 汤水
Tongji Gate 通济门
Tuqiao village土桥
Wanping 宛平
Wealthy Hill 富贵山
West Peak 西山
West Water Gate 水西门
Wu county 吴县
Wuding Gate 武定门
Wufu Line 吴福线
Wuhan (Hankou, 汉口)
Wujiang 吴江
Wujiaochang 五角场
Wusong 吴淞
Wusong Creek 吴淞河
Wuxi 无锡
Xi'An 西安
Xiaguan Pier 下关
Xideng Line 锡澄线
Xuanwu Gate 玄武门
Xujiahui 徐家汇
Yanghang 杨行
Yangzhou city 扬州市
Yaohua Gate 尧化门
Yijiang Gate 挹江门
Yinhang 殷行
Yuepu town 月浦镇
Yunzao Creek 蕴藻滨
Zhapingjia Line 乍平嘉线
Zhapu 乍浦
Zhenjing 镇江
Zhongshan Gate 中山门
Zhongshan Park 中山公园
Zhunhua town 淳化镇
Zoumatang Creek 走马塘河

Ships:
Akatsuki 暁
Asanagi 朝風
Ataka 安宅
Atmai 熱海
Chuyu 楚豫
Futami 二見
Hasu 蓮
Hayabusa 隼
Hayate 疾風
Hibiki 響
Hira 比良
Hiyodori 鵯
Hosho 鳳翔
Hozu 保津
Idzumo 出雲
Ikazuchi 雷
Inazuma 电
Ioshima 五百島
Jiankang 健康
Jingswei 应瑞
Kaga 加賀
Kagu Maru 香久丸
Kamikawa Maru 神川丸
Kamoi 神威
Kasasagi 鵲
Katata 堅田
Kawakaze 江風
Kinu 鬼怒
Kinugasa Maru 衣笠丸
Kiso 木曽
Komoi 神威
Kotaka 小鷹
Kuri 栗
Natori 名取
Ninghai 甯海
Notoro 能登呂
Oite 追風
Ōtori 鴻
Pinghai 平海
Ryujo 龍驤
Sagiri 狭霧
Sazanami 漣
Seta 勢多
Shinshu Maru 神州丸
Susukaze 凉風
Tasuta 龍田
Tenryu 天
Toba 鳥羽
Tsuga 梅
Umikaze 海風
Yaeyama 八重山
Yamakaze 山風
Yatsen 逸仙
Yura 由良

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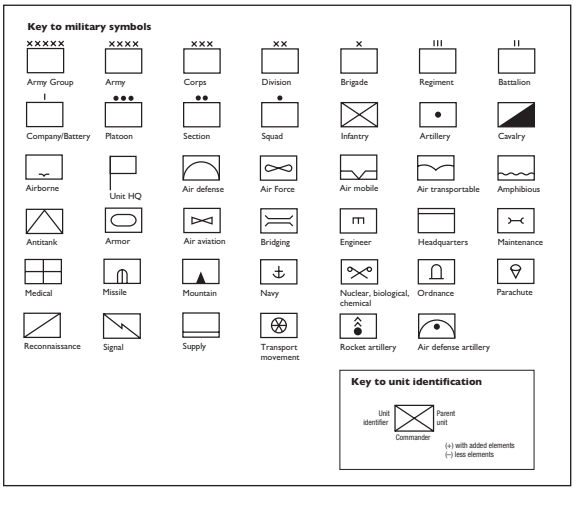

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DEDICATION

To Faith Lai 黎盈, my daughter.

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

Throughout the text, I have included Chinese and Japanese characters (Hanzi/Kanji scripts) on first mention of place names and people, and have used the Pinyin system, the current UN standard for modern Chinese transliteration. The only exception to the rule is for the names of some key personalities where the Wade-Giles or Yale Romanization forms are better known – for example, Chiang Kaishek (instead of Jiang Jieshi), and Kuomintang (KMT – instead of Guomindang). In writing Chinese and Japanese names, I follow the Asian naming system where family names precede that of the given name. In the 80 years since the battles, many of the names of the locations described in this book have changed; however, in order to help the modern reader follow the battles more easily, I have chosen modern geographical names over historical ones, although for reference purposes I have included these older names in brackets.